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SHORT VIEW

OF THE

RECENT CHANGES;

IN WHICH THE QUESTION—

Does Mr. Canning's Government merit the Confidence of the Country?

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IS

IMPARTIALLY DISCUSSED.

LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

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A

SHORT VIEW

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THE RECENT CHANGES.

When any set of men have taken a precipitat step, from which consequences that they did not anticipate have resulted—consequences injurious to themselves, as affecting their reputation for sagacity—to their adherents, as interfering with their emoluments, it is very natural that these men and their partisans should be extremely angry. It is natural, too, that the persons by whom any such egregious act of folly may have been committed, should endeavour to stifle the bitterness of their feelings by the various devices to which men, when ill at ease with themselves, resort for obtaining a sort of fallacious consolation; but it is also natural, that their disappointed followers, deprived, as they are, of the emoluments they enjoyed, and of the hopes they cherished, should break all bounds of decency, and

display their rage and fury in expressions alike impotent and intemperate.

The present state of the political world seems to form no exception to these general maxims. When His Majesty's gracious commands were imposed on Mr. Canning to form an Administration, he naturally applied to those colleagues with whom he had acted so long and cordially; and, to his surprise, he was met with six resignations. At such a crisis, he deemed it his duty to execute His Majesty's gracious commands, and without shrinking from the new and unexpected difficulties of his situation, to form, if possible, an Administration, capable alike of securing the confidence of the Crown, and the approbation of the public.

This arduous task Mr. Canning has performed in such a manner, as not only to add to the high opinion his friends always possessed of the firmness and resources of his mind, but greatly to disappoint the expectations, and to exasperate the animosity, of his enemies. Those persons, too, who, in a manner highly honourable to themselves, and with a disinterestedness of which there is no example in history, have tendered him their

support, have been attacked, as if they, for the basest purposes, had sold their consciences and compromised their principles; when, in fact, they were supporting their Sovereign, and promoting the extension of many of those objects which they had spent their lives in enforcing.

When men are determined to condemn, and when their tempers are under the influence of irritated feelings, it is natural that the most absurd expressions should escape them—the most notorious facts should be forgotten, and the plainest inferences overlooked. In making a few observations on the present state of affairs, I shall first consider—

1. Mr. Canning's conduct in framing an Administration in pursuance of His Majesty's commands.

2. The objections which have been urged against Mr. Canning personally.

3. The charges which have been made against the Members of the late Opposition, who now support Government.

4. Does Mr. Canning's Government merit the confidence of the country?

On the first head, the question occurs, ought Mr. Canning, (he having recommended a Ca-

binet like Lord Liverpool's) to have accepted the situation of Prime Minister, when the alleged principle of Lord Liverpool's Government, was, that though the Cabinet were to be neutral on the Catholic Question, the leading Minister was to be adverse to the measure?

To this question the Right Honourable Gentleman has himself given a decisive answer, that he never heard of such a principle, and, rather than have recognised it, he would have gone to the uttermost ends of the earth. But can any man really believe that such a principle ever was acknowledged, as that on which the late Government was said to be founded? If so, did Lord Liverpool act fairly by Mr. Canning, and the other advocates of the Catholic cause, who formed the Cabinet by not explaining, in explicit terms, this most important circumstance. No one, however, accuses Lord Liverpool of so disingenuous a proceeding, and the inference is, that no such principle ever existed. Neutrality was the real principle—a Catholic or Anti-Catholic premier, an accident. Having set at rest the question, as to the principle on which the late Government was founded, had Mr. Canning any grounds for anticipating

any disinclination on the part of his late colleagues to act in an administration, of which he was to be the head? Mr. Peel had immediately and candidly expressed his determination, and the peculiarly difficult position in which he found himself, being the only Minister hostile to the Catholic claims, in the House of Commons, and the connection between the Home Department and the Prime Minister seemed to form good grounds for his conduct. As to the others, Mr. Canning has set the matter at rest. He has told the House, and the world, that he had no such grounds. Placed, then, as he was, ought he to have immediately resigned his commission into his Sovereign's hands, and have added to his Royal Master's embarrassment? or, ought he to have proceeded, like a faithful servant and a vigorous statesman, to look the difficulties of his situation in the face—and do his duty, in the best way he could, to his King and country? In coming to a just conclusion on this subject, we must bear in mind that other projects had been recommended to the King—for instance, a Cabinet unanimous against the Catholics; and this interested, and immeasurably ambitious Mr. Canning, actually tendered his resigna-

tion, that he might form no obstacle to the execution of this plan. Let it not be said, that in this offer Mr. Canning was deserting his Sovereign; for a resignation to remove an obstacle out of the royal way, and one to place a great impediment in it, are very different things. There may be honourable, and there may be factious resignations; a resignation in the abstract, is, like many actions, indifferent.

Time, too, forms a most material ingredient in this question. The 12th of April had arrived, and no Ministry formed. Mr. Canning certainly knew that, from his experience, and from the extraordinary influence he had acquired in the House of Commons, he had pretensions superior to any other public man to the first office in the State; for, whatever estimate he might be led to form of his own powers, he could not possibly be ignorant of the effect they produced in Parliament, or of the station to which our foreign policy had raised us among the nations of Europe. He knew that he was supported by the most efficient members of the late Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Peel. He had many able personal friends, and he saw the possibility of obtaining

aid from a party powerful in numbers and in talent, which had been for some years approximating in their principles to those of the friends with whom he acted.

With these resources, and supported by the confidence of his Sovereign, did he do his duty to that Sovereign and to his country, by pursuing the path he has followed; or ought he, knowing his own position, as well its real difficulties as the means by which these difficulties might be overcome, to have given up the undertaking? Had he done so, he must have incurred the charge of a cowardly desertion of his Sovereign, or of forming an erroneous estimate of the means he possessed for serving the State. Neither imputations very flattering to himself, nor very consistent with the duty he owed to the Crown. He could not have supposed that the project of an unanimous Cabinet was likely to be realized, after having been relinquished so shortly before. And, as to the other project, of naming some Anti-Catholic Prime Minister, and allowing the rest of the Government to remain as it was, the objections were:—that an inefficient or nominal head of the Government was certainly a very inconvenient arrangement, and which

nothing but a strong political necessity could justify; and, as it was an arrangement which, in the appointment of Mr. Canning, had been virtually disapproved of by His Majesty, it was, in fact, substituting the plan of an individual or individuals, for that sanctioned by the Royal will.

That there was no necessity for the concession in question, subsequent events have proved; and that Mr. Canning should have yielded his own fair pretensions, or abandoned his King in difficulties, when he had the power of serving him, an attention to his own reputation, and keen sense of gratitude to his Sovereign equally precluded.

The approaching meeting of Parliament, and the exigencies of the public service, required the speedy formation of a Government; and, if Mr. Canning was convinced that he had as good, or a better chance than any of his late colleagues to form an efficient Government, he was justified in doing so, notwithstanding their secession; and could not have done otherwise, without deserting his duty to his King and country.

2. Certain objections, however, have been made to Mr. Canning, tending, if possible, to

shake the confidence which the country reposes in his principles and integrity. Nothing can be more ludicrously impotent, or more curiously inconsistent than the charges against Mr. Canning, coupled with the opinions of the men with whom his conduct and opinions are contrasted. That Mr. Canning advocates the Catholic cause, and, therefore, is an enemy of the Church of England, is, according to the usual language, quite natural: but that he should be held up as an unworthy pupil of Pitt, who, it is well known, was most decidedly in favour of removing Catholic disabilities, and from whom, in all probability, he first imbibed his opinions on that question, is really too much, one would think, for human effrontery to maintain.

But Mr. Canning is a most dangerous person to the landed and commercial interests, and, with great and good taste, his opinions are contrasted with those of Mr. Peel, who, be it remembered, advocated the Corn Bill most strenuously, and has repeatedly sanctioned those new commercial measures, which have lately created so much discussion; and who, not long since, declared in Parliament, that, with the exception of the Catholic Question,

he was not aware that he differed with his Right Honourable Friend on any public measure. If, therefore, Mr. Canning *is* an enemy, Mr. Pitt *was* an enemy to the Church of England; for they both wished to see the Catholic disabilities removed. If, therefore, Mr. Canning is dangerous to the landed and commercial interests, it is clear that Mr. Peel is equally an object of apprehension, as he has identified himself repeatedly and spontaneously with every part of these obnoxious and alarming measures. Where a cause is very bad, some share of art is necessary to keep its more glaring absurdities out of view: but what shall we say of a cause which has nothing better to suggest to its advocates?

It is hardly necessary to recal to mi[illegible] great share the late lamented Premier had in the formation of the new Corn Bill, and how warmly he supported the new comm[illegible] regulations. No motive but the blindest [illegible]ly, joined to the most perverse faction, can blame Mr. Canning, and hold him up to public execration, for measures with which he was [illegible]vidually less concerned than a noble Lord who is in the same breath, represented as the model of a safe and wise minister. But Mr. Can-

ning has bribed the press? Has he really? How was the secret discovered? Have any of the corrupt editors peached? or, was any spy present during the conferences between the printers and the Premier?

But all the press was in his favour—and, therefore, his guilt and the baseness of the editors are quite apparent. The seceders, to be sure, to their own infinite astonishment, found they did not stand so high in the public estimation as they expected; and, therefore, most logically concluded, so counselled their self-love, that the press was corrupted, and the public voice (how did they discover this?) was stifled. That the people were all ready to speak, and read their praises, but that the venal directors of the *pernicious* press prevented any expression in their favour. To what absurdities do spleen and mortified vanity carry men! Might they not have suspected that the principles and talents of Mr. Canning were more likely to secure the favour of the public than their own; and that, in fact, he was looked on as supporting the just prerogatives of the Crown and the essential principles of the Constitution? while their own

conduct, however individually satisfactory to themselves, must have appeared to the public as calculated to embarrass the Crown in the choice of its servants.

Had no friendly voice warned them that Mr. Canning's popularity and general reputation for high talent far outweighed theirs? If their vanity had allowed them for one moment to have entertained these obvious considerations, we should have heard nothing of Government having bribed or influenced the press.

But, it is said, that his late colleagues declined to serve under Mr. Canning, because he is unprincipled. If this be really their opinion, how disgraceful was their own conduct in having sat and acted with that Right Honourable Gentleman so many years!!! They, I presume, could not have sanctioned this exposition of their motives; for, with whatever allowance for dulness their sentiments must be received, they must have felt how forcibly such argument must have recoiled on themselves. If not, their consciences must have been cast in a very peculiar mould. "Our friend, the Foreign Secretary," did they say?

is, we know, an unprincipled dog; but to him we trust only our foreign relations, and to him, indeed, we confide the management of the House of Commons.—These are mere trifles. A most pure, perfect, and scrupulous person fills the Home Department; he acts along with, and in the House under our *roué* of the Foreign Office. All this is mighty well; but if any event were to make him Premier, we should resign in a fit of virtuous indignation."

This would be not unlike modest females, who, having travelled a long way in great harmony and good humour with a lady of easy virtue, in a stage-coach, but, on that lady taking the head of the dinner table, should flounce out of the room, and declare they would not endure such contamination for an instant longer.

I really acquit the late Ministers of holding the disrespectful language, and indulging in the vulgar scurrility, which has, from some quarters, been directed against Mr. Canning.

A late Under-Secretary, however, is reported to have said, that, for several years, he had sat upon the Treasury Bench with Mr. Canning, and had never been uncivil to him; but that there were parts of his former life liable to

exception. It is a great pity Mr. Dawson had not before found time, from his official duties, to have studied the Right Honourable Secretary's delinquencies. He ought, certainly, from a regard to himself, to have made the characters of his near neighbours an object of his care; and now that he is removed from the polluted vicinage of the Right Honourable Person, he begins, somewhat too late, to discover what bad company he has kept for many years. It may be doubted indeed that, had Mr. Peel remained in office, whether Mr. Dawson would have been fortunate enough to have discovered the suspicious, and doubtful transactions, which have so recently come to his knowledge, and have, within the last three weeks, caused so great a revolution in his sentiments towards Mr. Canning.

But Mr. Canning is accused of having sacrificed his principles to his ambition. This charge is positively false, and has not even the vestige of plausibility. Did not Mr. Canning several years ago say, that, from the state of the Catholic Question, it ought not to be made a Cabinet one;—that, from the honest prejudices entertained against it, it ought to be allowed to make its way slowly

and gradually? He says so still, and has acted on that opinion; and yet he is accused of sacrificing his principles to his ambition!

He is asked if Parliamentary Reform were brought forward, what he should do? and answers, that he would oppose it, as he always had done; and yet he has sacrificed his principles to his ambition!

If a motion were made for the repeal of the Test Act, would he support it? his answer is precise, that he would not. Yet he, it is insinuated, has sacrificed his principles to ambition!

If his querists were wise, according to their own views, they should abstain from interrogatories; they ought to content themselves with disseminating vague and intangible suspicions; for the frank and manly character of the Right Honourable Gentleman will soon leave them without occupation. I may remark, that the precise answer, with respect to the repeal of the Test Act, deserves attention; as it was a subject on which Mr. Canning had never publicly expressed an opinion, and by supporting which he would have added one to the points of union between himself and those gentlemen, who have determined to aid his

Government in a manner so honourable and disinterested. This might be impolitic in Mr. Canning, or not; but it certainly is not the conduct of a man likely to sacrifice his principles to ambition, or make disgraceful compromises for political support.

It seems, however, that the whole of Mr. Canning's life must now be subjected to scrutiny —every effort of calumny long since forgotten —every circumstance long since explained— every thing on which, after the most minute investigation, by opponents of the first ability, the Right Honourable Gentleman had stood justified in the face of Parliament and the public—even by the confession of those opponents themselves—is now to be revived, to the prejudice of his reputation, by the men, and by the adherents of the men, who have so long associated with him on the most intimate and friendly terms; and who owe, in a great measure, the continuance of their honours and emoluments to the powerful aid which his splendid talents afforded to Administration. Should we have had the valuable services of Lord Liverpool himself, for the last five years, had Mr. Canning not consented, with a degree of disinterestedness truly

striking, to give up the great and lucrative office of Governor-General of India—an office, be it observed, of which his former official life had peculiarly fitted him to discharge the duties; and for what? for that of Foreign Secretary, of which he might have been deprived by the merest accident. And this, too, unconditionally! Surely there was something noble in this: it might be imprudent for family reasons; but it was in every way a sacrifice of emolument, personal ease, and perhaps, I may add, fame. The glory, indeed, of a successful Indian administration being almost exclusively that of the Governor-General.

But, to return to the assaults on Mr. Canning's character, it is sufficient to say that they are unfounded and malicious; and that they should now come from quarters who have so long benefited by his talents, and shared his friendship, excites sentiments which it may be difficult to suppress, but not easy, decorously, to utter.

Third. But certain charges have been made against some Gentlemen, who have avowed their determination to support Government. A monstrous and unnatural coalition has been

formed, it is said—a love of official emolument has been charged against them, by men who are sore, probably, with their own recent loss of it. A strange kind of anxiety, for the character of what is called the Whig party, has been expressed in quarters, one would suppose, not very likely to feel much solicitude regarding it.

First, as to coalition. Is there not some difference between a sudden coalition of hostile parties, formed evidently for the purpose of controlling the Royal will, and of forcing themselves, in spite of that will, by dint of parliamentary influence, into the councils of the Crown; and a junction of parties which had been for years approximating, and had, in fact, no essential practical differences, for the purpose of supporting the Crown in the choice of its first Minister?—a choice, too, most acceptable to the public! Surely it cannot be any thing disreputable to overlook, in such circumstances, merely speculative discrepancies; surely some duties are most imperative; some questions are more important than others; and that of supporting the Crown on an occasion of difficulty (I had almost said of desertion),

was a duty as sacred as any that the Constitution could require of public men.

The very essence and object of this coalition, is such as to remove from it the least suspicion of improper motives. And as to the details. Has there been an indecent scramble for places; and eagerness to reap the rewards which the Crown has it in its power to bestow on public men? The fact is directly the contrary. There has been a backwardness, a squeamishness, and a hesitation about taking office, which certainly forms a very striking characteristic in our public men; and does unquestionably distinguish the present period from many preceding ones in history. I shall not go into particulars, but Mr. Brougham's conduct has been beyond all praise. Where is the instance in history, of any man of his capacity, and parliamentary reputation, agreeing to support Government cordially and strenuously; and changing his seat in the House in consequence, without obtaining a high official situation? Yet, with a perfect disregard of self, he is content to sink his own claims, to forego all personal objects, to support a cause, and to promote an union which he believes to be beneficial

to the public, and serviceable to the Crown. That Mr. Brougham's conduct on this occasion has been of so splendid a character, as not only to sustain, but to raise his previously high reputation for independence and disinterestedness, all who can appreciate or sympathise with an act of public virtue, will readily testify.

Of the same general complexion have been the proceedings of his friends. They have taken a line by which they will not only at the same time promote the dignity, and vindicate the prerogative of the Crown, but give effect to many of their own views for the benefit of the public.

But from what quarter do the censures of Administration proceed? Who are the persons who affect to deplore the union that has taken place, and the support Government has received? The very men and their friends who rendered such a state of things inevitable.

Mr. Peel is reported to have said, that he was "anxious for the maintenance of the character of the great parties in Parliament; he would be sorry, upon constitutional grounds, to see them lowered and sunk in the eyes of

the people;—that he wished to see the Whigs excluded he avowed, but they bore an honourable name in the parties of the country, and he wished not to see it totally compromised." This is truly kind of the Right Honourable Gentleman, and every member of that party must feel gratitude for this his first manifestation of a lively concern in their good name.

But, to put the question seriously; who produced those events which they now affect to deplore, and which are, in some quarters, made the ground of bitter censure, except Mr. Peel himself, and those who quitted office along with him? In one sense, they certainly had a right to act as they did—but if so, nothing can be in worse taste than that they should complain of the necessary, or at least the extremely probable, consequences of their own acts. Let us look through Mr. Peel's account of the motives of his resignation;—there is much of personal feeling—of the delicate nature of his situation—of the tendency the Catholic Question would have to advance, if Mr. Canning was Prime Minister. There is, no doubt, much of private feeling, perhaps of an overstrained delicacy of sentiment in it, and as such I am as willing as

any man to give him credit. But was there an atom of statesman-like sagacity in his train of reasoning, with a view to the maintenance of his own sentiments regarding public affairs? Did it never occur to him, that others of his colleagues might look upon Mr. Canning's elevation in the same light; and that if they did so, they must compel him to resort to other quarters for assistance? Did Mr. Peel ever reflect, that Mr. Canning was not a man likely to be discouraged by ordinary obstacles, and that he would not immediately surrender his trust into the hands of the Sovereign? Did Mr. Peel ever reflect, that the Catholic cause was likely to gain more in a Cabinet in which nine out of twelve were in its favour, than in one in which opinions on it were equally balanced? Did Mr. Peel confine his views to the Catholic Question alone? If he did, were they such as a statesman should have cast over the affairs of the country, and probable consequences of his actions? We may bear ample testimony to Mr. Peel's integrity; but we must hesitate before we subscribe to his wisdom. We must rather conclude, that, from a too great indulgence in personal

feelings, and from a narrow and fastidious view of his own duty, he has sacrificed the greater interests which he has so much at heart; and has tended, probably, more than any man, to open the door to those very Whigs whom he wished to exclude. But why he should be in an ill humour with men and things, unless on the principle hinted at in the beginning of these observations, I cannot perceive. He did not, it is to be hoped, resign, upon the probability that an Administration could not be formed without him; if he did, he substantially did what he could to control the prerogative. If he did not, why should he be angry that the Crown has found others to fill the posts deserted by him and his friends? Does he, the great support of the Church—the great defender of the Constitution—the ablest Home Secretary we ever perhaps had—wish that the Government should be totally dissolved; and public business suspended indefinitely? or, at least, until he and his friends are charged with the formation of a Government? If not, why any irritation? Surely, time enough will occur to examine and watch all proceedings of Ministry. It may not be prudent

all at once to identify himself with Mr. Dawson and Sir Thomas Lethbridge. Prosperity is said to be harder to bear than adversity. Is Mr. Peel's case, which has been one of uninterrupted political prosperity, and which has hitherto gained the unanimous suffrages of the public, to be an exception to the common rule? I trust he will not lose in Opposition—if in Opposition he be determined to place himself—the high character for judgment, moderation, and temper, he unquestionably earned while in office. I may put it to himself, whether there has been any public man, at any period of history, who met with more courtesy from his opponents during the whole of his official life—whose merits have been more readily allowed, or whose labours have been more favourably received. Even doctrines unpopular to certain classes have not been able to shake this disposition towards him. Mr. Peel can advocate the Corn Bill without inspiring distrust in the landed interest; he can avow liberal sentiments on commercial subjects, yet raise no jealousy among the advocates of monopoly. He can maintain the same doctrines as Mr. Huskisson, nay, has identified himself with these doctrines;

but he is no visionary, no political economist. Even the odium attached to his *Bill*, seems not to have adhered to his political character. It is, however, precisely because his prosperity has been greater and rarer than the prosperity of any preceding politician, that he should be careful of his own conduct, and, perhaps, of his own consistency—consistency, not of opinion only, but of good temper, moderation, and candour. If he does not preserve his consistency in these points also, the conclusion will be, that his amenity was assumed to disarm opposition; and that his general parliamentary conduct was merely a piece of elaborate deceit.

These lines are penned with no hostility to Mr. Peel. The writer has long viewed his public conduct with almost unqualified approbation, and hailed his official labours with the sincerest delight. He has, no doubt, lamented the part Mr. Peel took on the Catholic Question, not only for the sake of that question; but now, from the temporary loss to the public of his services, his regret is certainly augmented.

As to the strange proceedings of certain Noble Lords, who have not hitherto been much known in political life, it is difficult to treat

them with gravity. These Lords and Gentlemen are now trying their hands, for the first time, as Leaders of Parliamentary Opposition; and, certainly, what they want in skill they make up in zeal.

'But was a more absurd and clumsy device ever thought of, than that measures should be brought forward by opponents—merely to see if the Marquess of Lansdowne agrees with Lord Goderich, or Mr. Canning concurs with Mr. Brougham?' Is there, I will not say adroitness or ability, but is there even a glimmering of common sense in this procedure? To meet such a paltry mode of warfare will not be difficult. It might be hinted, however, to these sages, that, when the Constitution is attacked, it will be time enough to defend it; and, that no great danger is to be feared from the assualts of men who, at a period of unexampled embarrassment, have rallied round the Throne to give their unbought and disinterested aid, in supporting the King's prerogative, and their Country's Constitution.

Fourth. The next question is, can an Administration, so formed and so supported, be worthy of confidence? Something has been said about the long-tried services and experience of

the Ministers who have seceded. But it cannot be said, that the first Lord of the Treasury is deficient in experience of public affairs. The contrary is notoriously the fact. That Statesman had attained a prominent rank among public men long before the seceders were ever heard of. At a time when Mr. Canning was well known, who had ever heard of the Duke of Wellington, Lord Bathurst, Lord Melville, or Lord Westmoreland, as distinguished politicians? Lord Eldon was only known as a lawyer, and Mr. Peel was probably at school. Is there, then, any deficiency of experience in the head of the Government? or, is he not, really, the oldest member of distinguished talents and official habits in the House? And, if the colour and complexion of an Administration be derived, as is said, from its leading member, where can we look with greater confidence for experienced talent?

Oh good God! but the Church—the Church of England is in danger! Does not every child know that this very cry has been the watchword of bigotry and faction at various periods, when the Church of England was no more in danger than the dinners of the persons by whom the cry was uttered? Are we so

ignorant as not to know, that that cry was predominant in one of the most disgraceful and calamitous epochs of history—when the fruits of the councils and achievements of Godolphin and Marlborough were lost to the country, and its degradation sealed at Utrecht? But let Mr. Canning's opinions on the Catholic Question, and his views as to the only way in which it would be desirable to carry it, be calmly considered and attentively weighed; and then let us ask ourselves, will a Minister, with these views, do any thing to convulse England, or to endanger its Church? I will not enter into the question as to whether granting or refusing the Catholic claims would most endanger or strengthen the national establishment.

The head of the Government has positively declared against the repeal of the Test Act. Does this look very like a disposition to remove landmarks or to demolish bulwarks—does this indicate any hostility to the Church, and any eager desire to obtain favour, at the expense of principle, from its adversaries?

By what process could the destruction of the Church benefit Mr. Canning? Or, why should he excite the jealousy and opposition of its numerous friends? Some explanation should

be given on these points, before the minds of men admit groundless apprehensions and irrational alarms?

As to great and violent changes in the Constitution, in the shape of Parliamentary Reform, what reason can there be to fear any thing of the kind? Mr. Pitt, we know, when at the head of the Government, brought forward one of the most moderate and practicable plans for attaining this end ever submitted to Parliament; and, notwithstanding the splendour of his eloquence, the weight of his official situation, and the cordial support of his great Rival, he was left in a minority. Such, I prophesy, would be the fate of any motion of the kind at present, though enforced by the joint powers of Brougham and Canning. But such an event is impossible. Mr. Canning has been all along the most able opponent to that change in the Constitution, denominated Parliamentary Reform, which the time has produced. His genius, indeed, has cast, I may say, a new light over this question; and has, with a force and originality never exceeded even by Burke himself, demonstrated its inexpediency and danger, so as not only to confirm the sentiments of those who concurred

with him; but, in many instances, to make converts from the opposite ranks. —So much for the Church and State, and now for the Corn and Commercial questions. The Corn Bill is precisely the same as it was before the late change; and it cannot be presumed, that those who would have voted for it, had the seceders continued in office, will now reject it, merely because a change has taken place in the Ministry, by which the nature of the measure is in no way affected.

As to the Commercial measures, about which so much discussion has taken place, I shall merely say, that they were not adopted without receiving the sanction of the highest mercantile authorities—that they were hailed with the sincerest satisfaction by the public, and were passed, almost without a dissenting voice, by Parliament. None of the seceders ever hinted a doubt about their propriety; and if they are to be retraced or modified, the same imputation of inconsistency and improvidence would attach to a Cabinet of which Lord Liverpool (should the Almighty restore him to health) and Mr. Peel were the leading members, as to that of Mr. Canning and Lord Goderich. Much nonsense has been written on these subjects.

If the measures are wrong, let them be repealed;—at any rate, however, let them have a fair trial. What interest has Mr. Canning, or Lord Goderich, or Mr. Huskisson, on whom it has pleased some, to heap the most unhandsome and groundless imputations, in the destruction of the shipping interest, or in shaking the foundations of our agriculture and commerce?

Whether these measures, approximating merely to the principles of free trade, have been injurious to the country, or to any of the leading interests, must be determined by facts. Let these be fairly stated and accurately examined—let the subject be probed to the bottom. This would have been equally necessary, had it pleased Providence to have continued the valuable public life of Lord Liverpool. Do not, however, let us make these matters subjects of distrust and topics of calumny, as applicable to men, who are not more responsible for their adoption, or whose characters are not more implicated in their practical effects, than those who have retired from office.

The question of confidence may be rested upon this single point, that there is no public man, holding opposite opinions to him on the

Catholic Question, who has equal pretensions with Mr. Canning, either in experience or talents, or sound principles, or public services, to the office of Prime Minister. If there be, let this wonderful person be named, let him come forward, let his qualifications be calmly estimated, let the King and country judge respecting his superiority. It cannot be Mr. Peel; for, surely the blindest admirer of that excellent person cannot pretend that his claims are equal—not to say superior to those of Mr. Canning. And if it be not Mr. Peel, it must be some one unknown to the public; for, among those with whom the public are acquainted, with the exception of Mr. Peel, not one could bear an instant's comparison. And yet it was imagined that Mr. Canning was to take office under some man of straw, and that on the principle that his opinions respecting the Catholic Question unfitted him from holding the first place in the Ministry. Had he assented to such an arrangement on such grounds, he would have been adopting, to use his own words, a badge of helotism, and subscribed to an indelible disgrace on his political existence.

The seceders have disclaimed any thing like

concert in their secession. In this they seem not to have obtained the approbation of the Earl of Mansfield. He is reported to have said, that "he had considerable doubts as to the wisdom of the course pursued, by those Members of the late Cabinet, who professed to advocate the Protestant cause. He believed, that if their communications had been more unreserved towards their adherents in the country, that they would have been ably backed by those adherents, and by a large majority of their Lordships' House, to make representations of such weight, as would have induced the King to form a mixed Administration, in which Protestant principles would have decidedly predominated." Had such a course been taken, I will boldly pronounce it to have been the most daring interference with the prerogative of the Crown, of which, since the Revolution, we have had any example. Does Lord Mansfield know any thing about the Constitution? would the great man, whose name he bears, have suggested any such project? What would it have been but mobbing the King on a subject of the most peculiar delicacy, and on one respecting which, the Royal prerogative should be held more sacred than on any

other? That, after a long period of misrule, when the resources of the State have been dilapidated, or its honour tarnished, a remonstrance against an incapable or guilty Minister might constitutionally be made, I am not disposed to deny. But that such an interference should have been attempted during the *formation* of an Administration, is alike contrary to constitutional principle, and historical fact. Yet, Lord Mansfield is, I presume, one of those who peculiarly pique themselves on the fervour of their loyalty, and on their delicate regard to the constitutional prerogatives of the Crown. If this be a specimen of the reverence the Noble Lord and those of his friends have for the principles of the Constitution, the public will form, without much difficulty, their own opinion upon them. If the notice given by the Noble Lord be followed up; and if the different motions on which notices have been given be made; the public will be in possession of ample means of judging of the candour and talent by which the Opposition Benches, in each House of Parliament, are at present adorned.

Two objections to Administration have been dwelt upon, which, perhaps, require a few words notice. The first is, that it is

merely a Provisional Government. This objection is urged by some, whom it might puzzle to define what a Provisional Government means. The members of it hold their offices, like those of all other Governments, at the King's pleasure. They are responsible, like all preceding Ministers, for their public acts. It would be an objection more intelligible, and more to the purpose, if it were alleged, that the Ministers are incompetent to discharge their public functions. It has been asked, were the affairs of the Home and Foreign Offices fit objects to be trifled with? The obvious and decisive answer is, that they are not fit objects to be trifled with—that there is no intention of trifling with them; and that the Noble Lord and Right Honourable Gentleman by whom they are filled, are perfectly competent to discharge their official duties. Those persons who bring to political discussions a small portion of knowledge of the past, must have seen the Home Office filled by talents with which those of the present Secretary may be advantageously compared. As to foreign affairs, those who recollect the occasional, but most distinguished appearances

made in Parliament by the accomplished Nobleman who now holds the seals of that department, may regret, may wonder at their infrequency, but cannot doubt the competency of so gifted a person to fill a high public station. Had Lord Melville, of whom I speak with every respect, displayed, while Mr. S. Dundas, any such promise of future eminence, as Lord Dudley has repeatedly evinced, when he, almost wholly unknown, was placed at the head of the Admiralty? yet we never heard any anxiety expressed by the friends of Government lest the naval Administration was to be trifled with. Suspicion must be busy indeed, which can suggest, that, under Lord Dudley, the same glorious, yet cautious career, will not be persevered in, which has shed imperishable lustre around Mr. Canning's direction of our foreign affairs.

But can we be certain, that, at the end of so many months, Mr. *So-and-so*, and my Lord *That*, shall be in office? Certainly, we cannot; His Majesty having it in his power to make what changes in the structure of the Government he pleases; and the individuals in question having an undoubted right to resign. It would be

a new and pleasant thing to address the Crown, to know how long such a Secretary was to be retained; or to appoint a Committee to investigate whether such and such placemen did, or did not, intend to resign. All, I humbly conceive, that it is necessary for the most vigilant patriot to know is, that the offices of Government are competently and responsibly filled.

Incompetency it is rather uncandid to presume in persons of mature years and acknowledged talents; and responsibility, it is in the power of Parliament to enforce. But it is insinuated, that, after a certain period, the Ministry will be strengthened by the accession of a Noble Lord, of the highest character for attention to public business—for general information—and remarkable for the clear, temperate, and dignified manner with which he expresses his opinions in the Upper House. I am not in the secret, and, therefore, cannot tell if this will happen or not. But it is a very strange reason, that we should not confide in Mr. Canning's Administration in May, because it may, possibly, or for what I know, probably, be joined by

the Marquess of Lansdowne in July. This Noble Lord is no visionary or enthusiast—but a calm practical person, full of knowledge, and whose views, as far as they can be ascertained by a perusal of his speeches, are singularly alike, on many very important questions, to those of the lamented Lord Liverpool. Yet one ingenious person* has discovered, that, because this Noble Person may, possibly, take office in a couple of months, nothing less than stopping the supplies is a cure for so alarming an evil. Some solicitude is expressed concerning a rumour, that Mr. Tierney and Sir James Mackintosh are to hold places under Government. One would suppose, that some direful misfortune was dreaded, should the prevalent reports be realised. But, in some measure to alleviate the apprehensions which seem to have been excited in certain sensitive bosoms, I may just hint, that these two personages have before filled situations of importance—the one at home, and the other in India; and no striking instance, it is believed, of the vengeance of Providence marked their official life. We may, therefore, justly hope,

* Sir Thomas Lethbridge, Bart.

that neither the discipline of our army, nor the purity of our coin, will suffer; nor the security of the Protestant religion be put in jeopardy, should matters turn out as it is reported.

The next thing which I shall notice, that has been urged for depriving Government of confidence is, that it is supported by certain persons whom Mr. W. Peel (brother to the late Secretary, the author of the Bill for resuming Cash Payments, the strenuous supporter of Free Trade, New Corn Bill, &c.) is reported to have denominated visionary theorists, political economists, and professors of liberal principles. Can the powers of ridicule, of *passive* ridicule, possessed in such perfection by some men, go beyond this? If Mr. Brougham and Sir Francis Burdett support Mr. Canning, it is, surely, no fault of his. Malice itself cannot allege, either that he has truckled for that support; or, for it, that he has sacrificed an atom of principle. What course would the objectors recommend? That he should return their kindness with contempt, and their praises with vituperation? This would truly be a sensible and decent procedure, and about as rational as the ground of distrust itself. For what is this famous argument?

"We don't say, that you, the Cabinet, are radicals, or visionaries,—that is notoriously not the case; we don't say that your measures are dangerous, for of them we can as yet know nothing; but we may presume you will continue in the late course of measures, which we have always supported, and do conscientiously approve; but no confidence shall we place in you; we call on Parliament to fly in the King's face by opposing his untried Administration, because Sir Francis Burdett, who advocates an extensive Parliamentary Reform; and Mr. Brougham, who advocates a more limited one, have changed places in the House, and now sit directly behind, instead of directly opposite to, the Treasury Bench!" What must be the profundity of the genius which can, in good earnest, employ arguments of which the statement I have given is nearly a transcript. How Lord Liverpool, worthy man, would have stared, had any one got up and said, "The Cabinet are men of good sense and moderation, and will never sanction, or participate in any attack on freedom at home or abroad. In them, however, I can place no confidence, because I know well that my Lord A———, or the Honourable Mr. B———, both strenuous

supporters of Government, are, at heart, friends of despotism, and partisans of the Holy Alliance, intimate with the French Apostolicals, and deeply interested in the success of the grand Turk." Lord Liverpool might, after expressing his surprise, have said, that this was a little hard, that it could not be expected that he could refuse the support in question, but that he did not participate in the obnoxious sentiments, and, consequently, there could be no justice in visiting on his head, the consequences of doctrines which he did not maintain, and could not control.

It would be well if those Gentlemen who have the name of Mr. Pitt so much in their mouths, should sometimes have his conduct and principles in their minds. Let them recollect the position he maintained in 1784. How he contended, in the face of a majority of the House of Commons, that it was his Majesty's sole prerogative to name his Minister; and that it was mere faction, and not a constitutional exercise of the undoubted powers of Parliament, to reject a Minister appointed by the Crown, where the Administration was wholly untried, and where no act of corruption

or delinquency was even alleged. These were the principles Mr. Pitt maintained, and, aided by the voice of the people, he triumphed over one of the most powerful confederacies ever formed to intrude upon the Sovereign an Administration to whom he was personally repugnant.

What the true constitutional doctrine is, we might not expect to learn from the Member for Somerset; for it cannot be imagined, that he should have found time, amidst rural pursuits, and his anxieties respecting our agriculture, for historical studies; and what the acquirements are of several Lords and Gentlemen who have come forward, for the first time, pretty conspicuously, we have no means of fairly estimating: but we might expect, even at this crisis, something like good sense and sound doctrine from Mr. Peel. I should have said the same of the Earl of Eldon, had he not already seemed anxious to plunge at once into factious inconsistency, with a zeal somewhat indecorous at his age, and somewhat irreconcileable with the respect which hitherto he has been scrupulous in professing to the Crown.

As to what is imputed to Lord Londonderry by the papers, as having fallen from him on Monday night, May 7th, a more complete *non sequitur* than his motion, with its professed objects, never was exhibited to a wondering senate. The object was, *to see into the present state of affairs on the other side of the House*—the means—"Returns of all appointments at "home and abroad, connected with the Fo- "reign Office, from January 1822, specifying "the names, situations, salaries, and allow- "ances, including His Majesty's Ambassadors, "Ministers, and Consuls; and specifying all "such appointments as are held by one and "the same person, with the total expenses "of the whole department;—an account of "the extraordinary and contingent expenses "of the Foreign Department, at home and "abroad, from February 1821, to February "1826;" and a deal more to the like purport. How these returns were calculated to throw the least light on the question which the Noble Marquess was so anxious to illuminate, the reporter did not explain; but we trust that, to guide us in so interesting an investigation, the Noble Marquess will give us his assistance on the subject, either by taking an

early opportunity of making the explanation he has omitted, or by publishing a corrected account of what he actually delivered on that memorable night.

The Noble Lord's ingenuity (I speak only of the report) seems to be boundless; for he, apparently, has discovered, that one part of the functions of the House of Peers is, to listen to statements which those who bring them forward admit are incapable of proof; and, they might add, unworthy of attention. Surely the House of Lords, that ancient and dignified assembly, has some employments more suitable to the rank it holds in the State, and the estimation it must be desirous of maintaining in the mind of an intelligent public, than to become the receptacle of tittle-tattle,—the ground on which every strange surmise or unfounded insinuation may be spread out and examined in all its parts. Has political spleen so obscured the optics of noble persons, that questions (very well over a tea table, or admissible at the clubs) should there be mooted as to the truth of crude, distorted, and probably totally unfounded stories. Lord Londonderry is said to have anticipated some attempts, on the part of a *vile* and *venal* press, to write him

down. As an humble individual, in no way connected with the periodical press, I may suggest, as a topic of consolation to his Lordship, that, to write him down, is an absolute impossibility. And the Noble Lord who, I dare say, is a scholar, must know, that the maxim of the Roman law, is *Nemo tenetur ad impossibile.*

In conclusion, I may observe that, whether we look to the circumstances which gave rise to the formation of the present Ministry—whether we look to the individuals of whom it is composed, and by whom it is supported, or to those by whom public rumour points out that it is likely to be joined—and when, on the other hand, we consider the conduct of those who created the necessity of framing the present Government, their public pretensions and those of their adherents—and when, still more, we consider the nature of the principles and views they have so recently disclosed, and the temper with which these have been enunciated, I hesitate not to affirm, that the present Government does deserve, and will command, the support of every loyal, candid, moderate, and enlightened man in the kingdom; and

will retain that support till it has abandoned those just and constitutional principles on which it is founded, and for the maintenance of which the high public characters of the Premier and his colleagues are a sufficient pledge to the Crown and People.

FINIS.

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THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

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A BRIEF

ENQUIRY INTO THE PRINCIPLES

OF THE

COALITION,

SHEWING FROM PAST EVENTS

THAT MR. CANNING'S MINISTRY

IS UNWORTHY

THE CONFIDENCE OF THE COUNTRY:

WITH AN

EXPOSURE OF SOME FALLACIOUS STATEMENTS

LATELY MADE IN A PAMPHLET, ENTITLED,

"*A SHORT VIEW OF THE RECENT CHANGES, &c.*"

LONDON:

LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN AND GREEN;
AND J. HATCHARD & SON, PICCADILLY;
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MDCCCXXVII.

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A BRIEF ENQUIRY

INTO THE

PRINCIPLES

OF

THE COALITION.

If there continue to exist the least political consistency or public virtue,—if the principles of Whiggism be not essentially corrupt,—if the members of the present extraordinary Coalition have any desire to appear in the page of History, as actuated by honorable motives,—assuredly it is incumbent on them to explain to the world by what political Alchymy a transmutation has been effected in the respective systems of Mr. Canning and his former Antagonists, so complete that it would now be no longer possible to discover their once characteristic properties.

Assuming for a moment the perfect veracity of the assertion made by the Advocates of that Coalition, that the public good is the alone propelling motive, where is the consistency of abandoning those great and peculiar views, which constitute in their mind, the sole foundation of National honor, wealth and glory? Sacrifices have been made at different periods of our History by illustrious Men which will be deservedly held in profound admiration by remotest posterity,—but they were sacrifices, let it be remembered, truly entitled to the name,—sacrifices in which personal advancement was nobly declined,—and in which there was no such equivocal Patriotism as the retention of place by one party, and the pursuit of it by another. The Coalition of the present day will be more memorable than any that has preceded it,—if in the relinquishment of principles, which have hitherto stood every thing but the trial, and have been declared on innumerable occasions to be unchanged and unchangeable, any solid and permanent benefits accrue to the Country.

Happy! thrice happy! England, will the ingenuous students of thine Annals, in future

centuries exclaim, was the period when the avowed Advocate of the immortal Pitt could contrive to unite with other powers that of the Magician's wand,—to effect a Revolution almost miraculous in his whole political system, and to render that system subservient to its firm and inveterate foes, the Whigs! Happy those Whigs,—bright and peerless models of consistency, who threw to the winds all their previous opinions and principles, to form an alliance, amiable and compact, with their half-penitent and supplicating opponents! Happy, altogether happy the day, when this Phalanx of Coalitionists headed the Political Army, at the same time that they secured to themselves the inexpressibly precious morceaux of office and of power,—and why? oh! the reason, surely, is

"Plain as way to Parish Church—"

it was all for the good of the Country!

Some, however, more severe and fastidious, more prone to analyze measures and events, and less easily hurried away by popular delusion or extravagant profession, may look on those same Annals with a less joyous, a less enlightened mind! They may discover that

that virtue was somewhat ambiguous, and that honor not wholly free from suspicion, which were displayed in a union wherein it was understood that national benefit was not to exclude personal aggrandizement; and by which it was contrived, with the most dexterous ingenuity, that while one eye was directed to the public resources, another was to be steadily fixed on private interests. They may be so uncandid as to imagine the assertion made by one of them with respect to a great opponent, was not without foundation, that somewhere there must have been a base "truckling"* for office, and they may even be so ungrateful as to carry on their ideas from such premises to a conclusion, that there was, after all, in the virtue of those incorruptible Patriots no small leaven of human degeneracy and weakness.

Shades of Chatham, Burke and Pitt! and all ye illustrious dead! whose mighty fame, unsullied honor and inextinguishable virtue have cast a brilliant and eternal halo of glory upon the Country which gave you birth,—could you rise from your repose in the

* Vide Mr. Brougham's speech against Mr. Canning in the Session of 1825, and passim, till he ceased to be an Oppositionist.

peaceful abodes of the great and the good, and cast but one rapid and transient glance at the solemn farce,—the infamous mockery of all principle now acting on the Political stage, your pure spirits would recoil with indignation,—with horror you would see in active operation what you would have thought incredible, because to you it would have been impossible,—the prostitution of all public sentiment and character at the shrine of basest venality!

Where are all the clamorous contentions,—for such and no more they prove, in which the purity of Whiggism has blazed forth with unequalled lustre,—where that unity of purpose which would not admit of a contaminating association with any principles at all opposed or dissimilar,—where that rigid adherence, (so often vaunted,) to the glorious cause of the Revolution,—where that superiority of soul to all the temptations of power,—where that exclusive Patriotism which was to sink in everlasting obscurity all other men and all other parties,—where are all those to be found? alas! they are vanished into the air of which they were originally composed, and like all

other violent impressions on that subtle fluid, they created a momentary explosion, and have left behind not even the resemblance or trace of a shadow.

But more to be wondered at, more to be deplored by far is the political apostacy of the celebrated Canning. The Whigs have acted now only as they have acted before,—their chief leader in his Coalition with Lord North furnished them with a model for all succeeding time, of purity and grandeur of principle, to which they are now most submissively and faithfully moulding their pliant creed. But the present Premier had a character to lose,—his splendid abilities, vast reputation and extensive influence had raised him to a height in the National esteem, from which, had he continued true to the lessons of his great political Master, no event, no power, no hostility could have hurled him. He would have gone down to posterity as one of the greatest Ministers that ever swayed the destinies of the Empire. But this base Coalition, at the bare idea of which, Pitt would have shuddered, has involved him in a connexion with Men who have hitherto writhed under the lash of his ridicule,—has

induced him to renounce the friends of his youth, the promoters of his interests, and the pillars of his party. Their support and their regard he has abandoned for the smiles of sycophants and the adulation of enemies,—he is surrounded by those whose designs and conduct,—if we are to place one moment's reliance on his repeated declarations,—he has always held in profound contempt or perfect abhorrence,—he has armed with the panoply of firm and uncompromizing opposition, those who would have willingly co-operated with him on the broad and general grounds of political equality, but who had, as his subsequent proceedings have most clearly shewn, too sound, too Constitutional reasons for refusing to act under him as their sole responsible Leader.

It is said,—with the most daring hardihood it is said, that the great and distinguished men who have lately seceded from the Government, have a design of throwing difficulties in the way of their venerated Sovereign. The vile calumny recoils with redoubled vigour upon the heads of those from whom it proceeds. There exist not in the English Dominion men who love their King with more ardour, or obey

him with more loyalty. Had they that detestably supple character which could change itself, as at the word of a Magician, into the most contradictory or opposite character,—or instantaneously stoop to the most base compliance and degradation, they would have been found equally insensible to principle as the members of the Coalition,—and they would have been equally deaf to the loud and unanimous call for resistance made on them by the true and zealous friends of the Constitution. They have been denominated a faction by those whose censure is praise, whose approbation is disgrace. What! those men of tried integrity, a faction!—those men of high-minded principle and unblemished honor, whose Councils carried their Country through the tempestuous times of the French Revolution, and against the fortune and genius of Napoleon; and who, in every period of national difficulty and of national calamity, unawed by clamour, pursued the even course of that wise and upright policy which they were taught in the School of William Pitt.*

* Vide Manchester Courier, 12th May.

Were it necessary to describe a faction with accuracy, or to detail its proceedings at any length, it would be sufficient to drag to light the whole conduct of the Whigs under the successive Administrations of Mr. Perceval and Lord Liverpool. It would be further necessary to contrast that conduct with their present venality,—and it would be impossible to avoid the conclusion that a Faction consists of place-hunters, who when they have seized on the object of desire, dismiss their Patriotism and Eloquence together, who, in its pursuit, like so many dogs of war, yelp their harsh and boisterous clamours,—who are reckless of the means they employ in furtherance of their selfish and exclusive interests,—who make their pretended love of liberty a step-ladder to popularity and power; and who, after the accomplishment of their corrupt purposes, become mute and senseless as blocks on those very topics, of which they have averred a thousand times they would rather forfeit life itself, than compromise the value, dignity and promotion. This is a true faction which can no where be found, at the present moment, so compact and vigorous as

on the Treasury Benches, and in the trains of those mongrel Politicians who fawn on the Ascendant Minister, whatever be his principles, his conduct, or his character.

Now where, even in a shadow, is the resemblance of faction to be found in the career of those noble and disinterested men, who lately felt it their duty to lay their resignations at his Majesty's feet. A greater sacrifice to principle,—honest and elevated principle, is not recorded in History. Honored with the approbation of their Sovereign, supported by the confidence of their Country, and influenced by a love of the purest Constitutional freedom, which equally respects the privileges and interests of the three estates of the Realm, they might, had they so pleased, have continued in office, probably, for years to come. Had they possessed that corrupt pliancy of principle, which can find in no men and no measures an insuperable bar to co-operation,—had they, careless of all others, consulted only their own personal interests, or yielded to the dictates of cupidity alone,—had they not magnanimously abandoned power, when its retention, under a new

system, became incompatible with political morality,—had they not despised every view or arrangement which could bring, even into transient contumely, the unsullied purity of that great School in which they were bred,—had they not preferred an honorable retirement, to a continuance in authority, exposed to repeated violations or contempt,—had they not thus acted in strictest consistency with their known principles, England might still have had the benefit of their experience, their talents and their wisdom,—England might still have boasted of seeing in power some of her greatest and most incorruptible Ministers. Yet these are the men, on whose tried and spotless character the loathsome hag of calumny has spit its foul venom! These vigilant defenders of the bulwarks of our freedom,—these faithful disciples of that great and incomparable man, by whom this Country was led on to the highest political glory, and the firmest position in the scale of nations, and raised to be the mistress of commerce, the arbitress of kingdoms, and the irresistible directress of the destinies of Europe!

If any thing can exceed the infamy of the

charge of faction, it is its heartless ingratitude. To particularize the cases of each of the distinguished individuals who have seceded from the Administration, would be at once invidious and unnecessary, since all equally partook of the splendid merit of that course of Policy, by which the machinations of domestic Anarchists were detected and destroyed, and the legions of France, headed by one of the mightiest Conquerors that ever grasped the imperial sceptre were subdued, vanquished and annihilated,—a course of Policy of which the wisdom and firmness were so clear and triumphant, that every Court in Europe feared no less than they respected the name of England. But it is impossible to take a retrospect of the tremendous events of the present century, without a feeling of especial gratitude for the services rendered to his country by the illustrious Wellington;—to be dead to this feeling, would imply a heart so entirely lost to every generous emotion, that doubtless, there is not an Englishman living who would not blush so to avow himself. It is equally impossible to bear in recollection the uncommon talents, the manly character, the enlarged

views and the extraordinary aptitude of mind for business evinced by Mr. Peel, without deploring as an evil of extreme magnitude, his absence from the helm of Government;—and only from the blindest prejudice, or the most determined infatuation, is it possible that any one can dispassionately reflect what profound justice, integrity and wisdom have presided for the last twenty years over the important and complicated affairs of the Chief Court of Equity, without a confession that slander never hurled its darts at a more upright man,—and without a conviction, that in Lord Eldon the page of history will be adorned and dignified with the character of the English Aristides.—To the superior services of the remainder of their noble colleagues, impartial posterity will award the honorable testimony of their sincerest gratitude. The turbid mists which falsehood now spreads around their names and their cause will shortly vanish. Truth will erect her standard in the hearts and understandings of their very foes,—the perfidy, of which they are now the victims, will have left nothing behind but indelible infamy on the memory of the Coalitionists, and a

universal conviction will prevail, that in the firm, bold and consistent stand made against the ascendancy of Whiggism and corruption, the retiring Ministers gave to the world the surest proof that in them the Councils of England were graced and strengthened by the highest honor, wisdom and ability. The fire of rancorous hostility may swallow up for a time their virtues and their merits, but freed from the alloy and pernicious admixture of calumny, they will return from the ordeal, like stirling gold, in simple and perfect purity. Many, very many, however, throughout the Kingdom, are those conscientious men, who feel it their happiness as well as their duty to make common cause with them,—who will not barter the sanctity of their principles for power or emolument,—nor desert the banner of sound Constitutional liberty at the alarm of the enemy's approach,—with whom, in short, it is a nobler object to act with the wise and the good, than to cringe with basest adulation at the feet of ascendant hypocrisy and triumphant corruption.

Many too, and the fact is full of hope and

delight to thousands,—many in each House of Parliament, are those who despising the political Chamelions that now flutter in the rays of transient popularity, evince virtue too stern, and honor too inflexible for the iniquitous career of Apostacy,—whose pledges are not those of an hour, nor are their attachments those of a Judas,—and on the Adamant of whose stainless integrity the bolts of malignant fury are hurled in vain.

The Whigs have repeatedly said, that the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts is foremost among the measures which they will never cease to promote,—yet are they now marshalled under a Leader who declares that he will oppose those measures with his utmost energy,—the Whigs have at times innumerable, maintained that on the concession of the Catholic claims, the very salvation of Ireland depends,—and that they will never in any shape extenuate the necessity or compromise the importance of that concession,—yet are they now in close Alliance with a Cabinet in which each Minister is privileged to act according to his own judgment, without being permitted to form a powerful union

in its support,—the Whigs have clamoured, Session after Session, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, in impotent endeavours to make the world believe their hearts were overflowing with gall at one time, or pity at another, at the radical corruption of their own Assembly,—yet, the eloquence of years has been smothered in a moment, for we now see the Champion of that cause, forgetful of his nightly glories in the Senate and his annual triumphs at the Crown and Anchor, and negligent alike of Patriots and Bacchanalians,—this "unbought man of the People" we now behold, bending in the train of its most vehement and talented Antagonist. The Whigs have mounted on the wings of Icarus to heights inaccessible by all others, when inveighing against the National Expenditure, and imputing to the enemies of its premature or injudicious Retrenchment all the sins and calamities of Centuries,—like Icarus too, having approached too near the Sun of office, all their glory, virtue and purity have melted away, and they are now exhibited to mankind monuments of rashness, impotence and vanity. The Whigs have complacently monopolized all the public honor

and integrity which ever existed, so often that it is almost needless to state the different occasions,—they have charged successive Administrations with iniquities of the deepest die, and have reaped year after year rich harvests of applause for their magnanimous conduct,—yet now,—(alas! the spectacle of human delinquency!) they are ranged under the banners of their inveterate foe,—content to be bound by the spell of perpetual silence on all their darling topics,—with no view to your approbation, ye Courts of Wapping and St. Giles,—and ye Clubs of Radicals and Renovators,—their votes and their patriotism they have with the most abject meanness resigned to a Man, who has brought them on unnumbered occasions into derision and contempt by the powers of his "master mind."

It may be as well to refresh the memory of Mr. Canning, and of his new allies, by a passage of a stinging speech made by him in a debate on the 18th May, 1819, upon the state of the Nation. The sword he cuts with has two edges, and the wound he inflicts cannot be so keen or deadly on his

foes as on himself. If for a moment we do that which Lord Grey refuses,—if we place the smallest faith in him, the time has been when, covering with contumely the whole practices of the Whigs, he would have despised even a provisional arrangement with them,—when those whom he has now taken under his protection were repelled with equal scorn and indignation, 'What 'did the Whigs think of another Westminster 'Election?' says Mr. C. 'It was true that 'the Honorable Baronet (Sir F. Burdett) was 'this night with them, but it was only on the 'understanding that they would support his 'darling measure of Parliamentary Reform. 'After some hesitation and a sort of whis-'pering, the Right Honorable Gentleman '(Mr. Tierney) had acceded to the Honor-'able Baronet's condition, and a Coalition 'had taken place. Suppose, then, that the 'new Coalition Ministry were formed; who, 'in point of rank, of talent and of con-'sideration in the Country, was better fitted 'to be a leading Member of the Cabinet 'than the Honorable Baronet? Well then, 'every body knew that one of the first ques-

'tions which the Honorable Baronet would, 'when Minister, bring forward, be the great 'subject of Parliamentary Reform. *What* '*then would be the conduct of the Whig mem-* '*bers of the Cabinet? Either they would* '*come forward in a body to support the plan* '*of their honorable Colleague, and thereby* '*flatly contradict their professions of a long* '*series of Years, or they would be a divided* '*Administration, on "the most important, the* "*most comprehensive, the most vital question* "*that ever agitated the Country," and thus be* '*liable to the same reproach which they so* '*unmercifully cast upon their unfortunate pre-* '*decessors.* An Honorable Gentleman had 'said, that if the Ministers were popular in 'the House, the Whigs were popular in the 'Country. He should have thought *popu-* '*larity was the last topic that the Whigs would* '*have alluded to, as one of their pretensions to* '*come into power.* He did not conceive that 'Ministers were particularly popular, nor 'himself more than the rest of his Colleagues: 'but he had gone through the ordeal of a 'public election without the accompaniment 'of mud and grenadiers. He had not been

'subjected to such striking proofs of favorit-
'ism as those idols of the people,—the Whigs,
'who with laurels in their hats and brickbats
'at their heels, bedaubed with ribbands and
'rubbish were forced to be preserved from
'their overpowering popularity by a detach-
'ment of his Majesty's Horse Guards. Sup-
'pose these mud-bespattered Whigs were to
'come into office instead of the present
'Ministry, who it is said, were so disliked
'throughout the Country,—where, after all,
'was the advantage worth contending for?
'Was it not for the trifling difference between
'an unpopular and a pelted Administration?
'The Right Honorable Gentleman had con-
'fessed that this was a trial of strength, and
'he (Mr. C.) trusted that the division of this
'night would shew *which party, in the opinion*
'*of the House, was the more likely to give sta-*
'*bility to our internal quiet, permanency to our*
'*external glory, and produce general confidence*
'*throughout the Country.*' Now one in-
stant's reflection on the general spirit of
these observations will be sufficient to detect
the most gross political duplicity, and to
expose the insincerity of Mr. Canning's whole

public character. He patronizes that in the closet which he denounces in the Senate; on the very first opportunity he raises those men to power, whose measures he professes to despise. The seal of mystery is set in the Coalition as deep as that of its infamy,—how otherwise would the indignity be tolerated by the Premier of co-operating with a Man who charged him with "the basest tergiversation which had ever been witnessed?"* How on the other hand can it be accounted for, that the Marquis of Lansdown,—who is amongst the ablest and most distinguished of the Whigs, and with whom principle is at a somewhat higher premium than with most of his party,—should consent to support by his sanction or talents, an Administration that cannot carry a measure he considers indispensible to the preservation of the Empire itself? During the debate on the Catholic Emancipation in 1825, he contended "that the removal of the remaining disabilities was necessary to the safety of the state." And where is there a shadow of reason, virtue or consistency in

* Vide Mr. Brougham's speech in the debate on the Catholic Claims, 17th April, 1823.

the adherence of Lord John Russell, to the cause of a Minister who avows eternal hostility to what his Lordship pronounces the key-stone of the glorious fabric of English liberty?

How, after the following sentiments uttered by Mr. Canning in 1822, on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, and repeated with additional vigour in each succeeding Session, can these declamatory Patriots be found so supple as to resign the views and sentiments of their whole lives, if unparalleled corruption or perfidy is not at the foundation of the whole proceeding? In the debate alluded to Lord John argued 'that the interests and wishes 'of the People are not represented in the House 'of Commons,—that the House was formerly 'more popular in its election, and that while the 'middle classes are daily increasing in intelli-'gence and wealth, and ought therefore to 'possess increased influence, the House of Com-'mons was becoming more and more the pro-'perty of the Aristocracy.' Mr. C. in a reply of great force and eloquence maintained 'that 'it was not true that the House of Commons 'was defective, because it did not respond to 'every impression of the people; that if the

'House of Commons should feel that it was 'immediately deputed from the whole people, 'it must of necessity swallow up the whole 'power of the State; that a House of Commons 'freely chosen, if admirable in theory, was not 'the Constitution under which we lived; that 'the House as at present brought together was 'perfectly competent to the discharge of its 'functions, and therefore that the mode of 'its election was of secondary importance.'— And these are but a very few specimens collected at random of their mutually base compromises of principle furnished by the Parliamentary Records.

During the whole of Mr. Canning's career, the same vehement opposition to Whiggism is uniformly striking,—the same wonder is every where created, that systems so totally dissimilar and conflicting, should have suddenly harmonized, and the same simple conclusion is necessarily suggested, that the main spring of the Coalition is not seated in a regard to the National honour, and that of necessary consequence, the Minister will possess but for a very little while, the confidence of the Country. Were this conclusion the result

of groundless prejudice or heated passion,—did it originate in the mere infuriated zeal of party, or in the impulses of a firm and rooted enmity alone,—the mature and disciplined judgment of the Coryphæus of Whiggism would not confirm it,—Lord Grey's sagacious and cultivated intellect would discover with equal clearness, and promote with equal energy, the merits of that cause to which his more flexible associates now succumb in humblest adulation,—the Nestor of Fox's Senatorial Legions would have wanted neither courage nor promptitude to enlist under the banners of the present triumphant Leader. But Whiggism cannot revolutionize *every* mind over which it has power,—and though turbid vapours generally obscure and pollute its atmosphere, yet there sometimes appear through a transient chasm corruscations of light from a brighter and purer region.

The author had written thus far, when he met with a pamphlet, just published, in the cause of the Coalition, professing to be 'A SHORT

'VIEW OF THE RECENT CHANGES, IN WHICH 'THE QUESTION—DOES MR. CANNING'S 'GOVERNMENT MERIT THE CONFIDENCE OF 'THE COUNTRY? IS IMPARTIALLY DISCUSSED'. For the statements of simple truth he has searched it in vain, while he has found in almost every page the distortions of calumny and the incense of adulation. The *impartial* discussion begins with a contemptuous sneer at the honorable men who have recently seceded, and ends, (precisely at the point to which the whole object of its writer was directed,) in an assertion really believed by no one, that Mr. Canning and his Whig associates are, of all Ministers, the fittest, wisest and most pure in existence. 'This arduous 'task (of forming an Administration) Mr. C. 'has performed in such a manner,' says his extravagant Eulogist, 'as not only to add to 'the high opinion his friends always possessed 'of the firmness and resources of his mind, 'but greatly to disappoint the expectations, 'and to exasperate the animosity of his ene-'mies. Those persons too, who, in a manner 'highly honorable to themselves, and with a 'disinterestedness of which there is no exam-

'ple in History, have tendered him their 'support, have been attacked, as if they, for 'the basest purposes, had sold their conscien-'ces and compromised their principles, when in 'fact, they were supporting their Sovereign, 'and promoting the extension of many of 'those objects which they had spent their 'lives in enforcing.'* Now in this paragraph the truth is so mixed up with falsehood, that it may be worth while to examine it somewhat closely. It is undoubtedly true, that Mr. Canning performed his task in such a manner, as 'greatly exasperated the animosity' of every consistent man in the Kingdom,—and to the friends of sound Constitutional principles, the fact is and ought to be replete with pleasure. But here the truth ends,—when the Pamphleteer requires his readers to believe that those persons who 'tendered the Premier their support,' acted 'in a manner highly honorable to themselves;' nay more, 'with a disinterestedness of which there is no example in history;' he shews himself such a lover of the extravagant in fiction, or such a slave of the delusions of party, that he excites only the

* Page 7.

mixed emotions of contempt for his weakness, and pity for his infatuation,—and when still further he carries his admiration to its climax, and gravely informs the world that they were 'in fact supporting their Sovereign, and pro-'moting the extension of many of those ob-'jects which they had spent their lives in 'enforcing,' he really taxes the patience of every man of common understanding much too far, and shews the cloven foot so boldly, as to create a vehement suspicion of his incapacity or unwillingness to behold the plain truth. Has this most *impartial* enquirer forgotten the torrent of jeers, ribaldry and defamation poured upon the character of their venerated Sovereign not seven years since by the leading Whigs, but more especially by Sir F. Burdett and Mr. Brougham? *He* may have forgotten the fact,—but so fresh is it in the recollection of all loyal men, that to this hour their hearts burn with indignation. Yet these are his Majesty's supporters, forsooth; yes: just such support as a foundation of sand is to the edifice attempted to be reared thereon! And, moreover, 'they are promoting 'the extension of many of those objects which

'they had spent their lives in enforcing!" Why, truly they are so, if the statement means by a sly inuendo, their incessant and unwearied pursuit of power and office,—but if, indeed, some covert compliment is intended, and the Author would have it believed that any one of their 'objects' is to increase the National prosperity, order or happiness, their conduct is altogether unaccountable; for at the very moment of Coalition, Mr. C. tells them that he will oppose with all his vigour every measure peculiar to them as a Political Party, and exclusively distinguishing them from their opponents. Of Lord Liverpool's Administration, it is stated that 'Neutrality was 'the real principle,—a Catholic or Anti-Ca-'tholic Premier, an accident.'* True! and with that consistent, upright and honorable Statesman, the accident was of no importance; the great cause of Protestantism received his manly, valuable and uniform support, but it was not benefited by the smallest exercise, either sinister or avowed, of his vast official influence.—But in the case of Mr. Canning, an issue of a very different character is to be an-

* Page 8.

ticipated from his own declaration. In his first speech after his elevation, he stated most distinctly that his ascendancy in the Cabinet would materially advance the prospects of the Catholics. Can any thing be clearer than that *neutrality* upon the subject is no longer to be maintained,—and that 'the accident' so trifling in Lord Liverpool's case, is in Mr. Canning's most *momentous* ?—A little further on, when riding his Pegasus with the utmost joy and pride, such is his simplicity, that, without being in the least aware of it, he springs a mine that opens to the World the whole secret of the Coalition.—'He knew '(meaning of course Mr. Canning,) that he was 'supported by the most efficient Members of 'the Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Peel.— 'He had many able personal friends, and he 'saw,' (mark it, reader, with the utmost attention!) 'he saw the possibility of obtaining 'aid from a party powerful in numbers and 'talent, which had been for some years approx-'imating in their principles to those of the 'friends with whom he acted.'*—Now of this approximation one or two remarks must be

* Page 10.

made, and several objections are the offspring, which it behoves the Encomiast of Mr. Canning and the Whigs to attempt, at least, to remove. So lately as the present Session, and up to the very time of the afflicting calamity which deprived the Nation of Lord Liverpool's tried honor, virtue, and talent,—the most exasperating charges were at intervals interchanged between the Whigs and their inveterate Enemy, the most bitter sarcasm and inflexible hostility were mutually displayed, and he alone could discover the remotest approximation, who, being behind the scenes, knew too well that all was a puppet-show of which Hypocrisy pulled the strings and Falsehood upheld the figures.

No public or explicit avowal of change of principle was made by either party, and the abandonment of their political character as Actors was so far cleverly managed, that it was not even dreamt of in the world, who paid them, it now appears, an unmerited tribute, in supposing them consistent and honorable disciples of the respective Schools of Pitt and Fox.

'That there was no necessity,' observes the Pamphleteer, 'for the concession in ques-

'tion (that of naming some Anti-Catholic 'Premier, and allowing the rest of the Govern-'ment to remain as it was,) subsequent events 'have proved; and that Mr. Canning should 'have yielded his own fair pretensions, or 'abandoned the King in difficulties, when he 'had the power of serving him, an attention 'to his own reputation and keen sense of 'gratitude to his Sovereign equally precluded.' Subsequent events have, indeed, proved that any concession, however advantageous to the Country, with a view of securing to it the great talents and high-minded principle of the Retired Ministers, it was never the intention of Mr. Canning to make,—but they have not proved, that for one instant 'a keen sense of 'gratitude to his Sovereign, or an attention to 'his own reputation', influenced his mind.—His reputation required not the plague-spot of political delinquency, to set it in a fairer light before the World, and his gratitude to his Sovereign, had it really formed a powerful motive in his conduct, would have suggested to him a course in which that Sovereign could be still served by his long-tried, honest, and faithful friends, without exposure to a painful col-

lision with others who have for a long series of years, been arrayed against him in a most disloyal combination.—When in a following passage, the *impartial* enquirer defends the prostitution of the Press it is impossible to believe him serious,—because no Man of common honor can have witnessed without indignation the vile and loathsome adulation lavished on Mr. Canning:—no Man pretending to a shadow of the most contracted principle can have perceived without profound contempt the tergiversation of that part of the press, which in the short space of three months veering completely round the political compass, detected all possible turpitude in the proceedings of the Whigs at one time, and at another congratulated the Country on the National benefit of their accession to office and authority,—and no Man, in whom one spark of decaying virtue yet remains unextinguished, can have beheld without abhorrence the union of the great leading prints in such a cause, involving as it did, the political anomalies of the former organs of Toryism, showering commendations upon Whigs, who, in grateful return, sang Io Pœans with those very Antagonists, whom,

a thousand times they had delivered over to endless execration and infamy. Thus, however speaks their Apologist 'But all the 'Press was in his favor,—and therefore his 'guilt and the baseness of the Editors are 'quite apparent. The seceders, to be sure, 'to their own infinite astonishment, found 'they did not stand so high in the public 'estimation as they expected; and therefore, 'most logically concluded, so counselled their 'self-love, that the press was corrupted, and 'the public voice, (how did they discover 'this?) was stifled. That the people were 'all ready to speak and read their praises, 'but that the venal directors of the *pernicious* press prevented any expression in 'their favour. To what absurdities do 'spleen and mortified vanity carry men! 'Might they not have suspected that the 'principles and talents of Mr. Canning were 'more likely to secure the favour of the 'public than their own; and that, in fact, 'he was looked on as supporting the just 'prerogatives of the Crown and the essential principles of the Constitution? while 'their own conduct, however individually

'satisfactory to themselves, must have 'appeared to the public as calculated to 'embarrass the Crown in the choice of its 'servants.'* Now if there is any Man so weak as to be deluded with the idea that the principles and talents of Mr. Canning alone worked this sudden and disgraceful change in the opinions of the Press,—or that the power, authority, and influence of the Premier and his new Allies did not create the golden Sun before which they bend in adoration, all argument would be superfluous, and all reasoning vain.—The Press is a great public Engine, and when devoted to its legitimate objects of Moral and Political improvement, its unfettered operation is a National blessing,—but when deserting these objects, it becomes the Pander of infamy, its power is to be deprecated by every honest Man. On this point, no one has ever spoken more strongly than Mr. Canning himself, who in the debate on the Libel Bill in 1820, declared with equal terseness and energy, that 'he 'would not consent to surrender the freedom

* Page 15.

'of Parliament to the freedom or rather 'despotism of the Press,—a power which 'acted with all the secrecy of a Venetian 'Tribunal, and at the same time struck with 'all the certainty of the Holy Inquisition.'—

'But to return,' says the writer, 'to the 'assaults on Mr. Canning's character, it is 'sufficient to say that they are unfounded 'and malicious; and that they should now 'come from quarters who have so long bene-'fited by his talents and shared his friendship, 'excites sentiments which it may be difficult 'to suppress, but not easy, decorously to 'utter.'—The praise here due it would be uncandid in the extreme to withhold; and had the same good sense uniformly prevailed through his pamphlet,—had its author every where 'suppressed sentiments which 'it was not easy decorously to utter' it would have contained more truth and less calumny. But does he really mean that the attacks on Mr. Canning's notorious political delinquency, are unfounded and malicious? Is he serious when he proclaims his wonder that they 'come from quarters 'who have so long benefited by his talents,

'and shared his friendship.'—Of what strength or value to them does he suppose that Man's friendship, who, with the most glaring inconsistency, transfers its vaunted and imaginary benefits to their inveterate foes? and from what direction can well-grounded accusations proceed, if not from that political party, to whose creed, interests and integrity he has shewn the most unblushing perfidy? and how does his Encomiast defend that perfidy, or attempt to rescue it from merited execration?—He shall be permitted to state his own arguments in his own language,—for assuredly no better mode could be found of condemning his most dishonorable cause. 'Is there 'not,' says he 'some difference between 'a sudden Coalition of hostile parties, 'formed evidently for the purpose of con-'trolling the Royal will, and of forcing 'themselves in spite of that will, by dint of 'parliamentary influence into the Councils 'of the Crown; and a junction of parties 'which had been for years approximating, 'and had, in fact no essential practical 'differences, for the purpose of supporting

'the Crown in the choice of its first Mi-
'nister? a choice, too, most acceptable to
'the public!—Surely it cannot be any thing
'disreputable to overlook, in such circum-
'stances, merely speculative discrepancies;
'surely some duties are most imperative;
'some questions are more important than
'others; and that of supporting the Crown
'on an occasion of difficulty, (I had almost
'said of desertion) was a duty as sacred as
'any that the Constitution could require of
'public men.' With what admirable lustre glows the sudden and exuberant loyalty of these pure Coalitionists! Against the very force of irresistible evidence to the contrary one is almost hurried away with the idea that 'the 'duty of supporting the Crown,' is the nearest and dearest to the heart of every Whig in existence! But at what moment so deeply interesting to the World, did that political Regeneration take place, which flashed the overpowering conviction upon the minds of Mr. Canning's new Allies, that it was 'as 'sacred as any that the Constitution could re-'quire of public Men.' From wantof precision on this point we are left in the dark: by the

help, however, of the glimmering light let in by the information that 'it was not dis-'reputable (at that moment,) to overlook mere-'ly speculative discrepancies,' we grope our way to a conclusion that it was contemporaneous with the hope of office and the prospect of power.

It was not disreputable, does our author say,—it was positively noble, '*to overlook, merely speculative* DISCREPANCIES.' The time had been when such discrepancies had occasioned discord and tumult,—when they were declared to involve the very peace and safety of the Empire,—when bitterest invectives were exchanged in their discussion,—but what wretched fatuity and weakness! To make vows of eternal fidelity to the Genius of Whiggism,—to preserve as a sacred Inheritance its spirit and its influence,—to yield to no circumstances, and to form no modifications admitting of an *approximation* between parties originally opposed in every sentiment and every view,—may have been highly laudable in other times,—but under the transforming power of a Coalition, all such strictness of principle is needless and untenable! Besides,

ye blind and bigotted Tories, how is it ye do not discover that it is not a Coalition 'formed for 'the purpose of controlling the Royal will,'—oh! no!—a totally different thing,—it is '*a junction of parties,*'* formed with the sole, honorable and straight forward view of supporting the Crown in the choice of its first Minister,—a choice too, (your thin and contemptible ranks alone excepted) most accept-'able to the Public!'—

"Of all the cants in this canting world, good Eugenius,
The cant of *Patriotism* is the worst."

How is it, *most impartial* Enquirer, that in the eighth page of your work you consider 'a Catholic or Anti-Catholic Premier, an accident' of no moment whatever, and yet in the 26th, in a string of bantering questions, exclaim, 'did Mr. Peel 'ever reflect that the Catholic cause was 'likely to gain more in a Cabinet in which 'nine out of twelve were in its favour, than in 'one in which opinions on it were equally 'balanced?'—letting the secret escape, that

* "What's in a name?—a rose, were it called
By another name would smell as sweet."

though the great Functionary you have dignified with the name of 'an accident' may have learnt the lesson of Neutrality, he intends altogether to oppose it in practice. But the question is easily answered. Mr. Peel *did* so reflect,—and with the highest and most honorable feeling, saw that his duty to the great cause of Protestantism forbad his further connection with one determined on carrying a measure which he and many other enlightened Men pronounce to be fraught with danger to the Constitution,—one moreover, invested with greatly augmented power to promote his resolution. And why did Mr. Peel thus reflect, but because he saw with the same clearness 'that Mr. Canning was not a 'Man likely to be discouraged by ordinary ob-'stacles, and (more than all) that he would not 'immediately surrender his trust into the hands 'of his Sovereign." With great minds deliberate reflection is rapidly followed by firm and decisive action. Mr. Peel disdained to truckle to a Man whose opinions on this measure he considers pernicious to the welfare of the Empire, and therefore with a manliness that has characterized his whole conduct, he withdrew from a Cabinet

where his upright views would be fettered and his valuable services neutralized.—

The soil of Whiggism though barren in noble principle, is yet prolific in calumny and malice. It is quite natural, therefore, that its Encomiast should revile the inflexible honor which has been evinced in both Houses of Parliament, by great and distinguished men in defence of a purer cause:—and it is no way strange that the following proofs of their consistency and of the mortified vanity of their Antagonists should appear in his pages. 'No 'great danger is to be feared from the assaults '(on the Constitution) of men who, at a pe- 'riod of unexampled embarrassment, have ral- 'lied round the Throne to give their unbought 'and disinterested aid, in supporting the King's 'prerogative, and their Country's Constitu- 'tion.'* Unbought and disinterested aid! Truly the logic of this impartial Gentleman is perfection itself! For though this rallying round the Throne has been accompanied by rallying into place,—and supporting the King's prerogative, has been attended by quite as strong support of the ambition of his Whig

* Page 29.

Subjects, no one can, nó one ought to suspect the immaculate purity of their motives.—There would be, doubtless, 'no adroitness or ability,' nay (to use another of the enquirer's complimentary remarks,) not 'evèn a glimmering 'of common sense,' in a surmise of another character, though the Duke of Devonshire has the Lord Chamberlain's wand, Lord Carlisle the Woods and Forests, Mr. Abercromby is made Judge Advocate, Sir J. Scarlett, Attorney General, Mr. W. Lamb, Secretary of Ireland, the Marquis of Lansdowne sits in the Cabinet, and Sir J. Macdonald at the India Board.—No: it was 'a period of unexampled embarrass-'ment,' their 'Country's Constitution' wanted their support, and 'the King's prerogative' had become dear to them as their very souls,—what, then, could be more magnanimous than their conduct?—they all gave 'their unbought and disinterested aid!'

The best and almost only specimen of sound discretion in the Writer occurs in the thirty-second page, where he says 'I will not 'enter into the question as to whether grant-'ing or refusing the Catholic claims would 'most endanger or strengthen the National

'Establishment.'—Where, beforehand, a defeat is certain, it is wisdom itself to decline entering into the field! So often and so clearly has it been proved by men of the strongest intellect, that one necessary evil resulting from the concession of the Catholic claims would be that of danger to the Church,—that we cannot too much admire the good sense of the Pamphleteer in avoiding all such demonstration. But there is an ulterior consideration of very great importance. Ought not that measure to be deprecated by every friend of his Country, of whatever sect or party, which would open the road to political power for the firm believers of a creed incompatible with civil and religious freedom,—who declare nothing to be more calumnious than a bare suspicion of even the *possibility* of a change in their principles,* the very first of which is that of intolerance of all other Communions?

Remarkable, indeed, is the fact that the Advocates themselves of (what is most improperly termed) Emancipation, supply the chief argument for its refusal, in their favorite proposition that it ought to be the privilege of

* Vide Dr. Milner's Controversy with Dr. Sturges.

every Man to 'worship' God according to his 'conscience.'—Because, first, that privilege is already most fully enjoyed by the Catholics; secondly, there is not and there cannot be a *consistent* Catholic in the whole Kingdom who does not despise the proposition; and, thirdly, the admission of its avowed and inveterate enemies to power in the state, would be the most effectual way to prevent its perpetuity,—nay to destroy its very existence. Amongst the Members of that Communion, there are, doubtless, men of the most enlarged views,—by whom the proposition is defended with as much sincerity as by Protestants,—but the *private* and *unauthorised* opinions of a few can never be ranged against the collected sentiments of a whole body, especially when in the public declarations of that body all such opinions are held up to obloquy and scorn.—To produce conviction in the minds of its opponents, let the friends of the Catholic cause refer, not to the sentiments of a single Bishop, Priest or Layman,—or even of several Bishops, Priests or Laymen of the Romish Church,—but to any decision of a Synod, any official promulgation from a General Council,—any one measure

sanctioned by the Conclave, proving their toleration, for an instant, of the principle that every man may and ought to worship God according to his conscience, or that it is not as sternly as ever anathematized with all the thunders of the Vatican. Till they can substantiate their assertions by proof, and their arguments by evidence, let them cease to wonder that the majority of every class in the kingdom deprecates as an evil of extreme magnitude any further concessions to the Catholics.

Many other are the lucid and irresistible conclusions to which the Coalition Eulogist arrives: but perhaps none will be so pleasing to the reader as that which closes at once his argument and his Pamphlet.—With this impression it will be doing him only common justice to produce his own words, as it will be afterwards due to truth, to submit their substance to Analysis.—'In conclusion,' says he 'I may observe, that whether we look to 'the circumstances which gave rise to the 'formation of the present Ministry,—whether 'we look to the Individuals of whom it is 'composed and by whom it is supported, or

'to those by whom public rumour points out
'that it is likely to be joined,—and when, on
'the other hand, we consider the conduct of
'those who created the necessity of framing
'the present Government, their public preten-
'sions and those of their Adherents,—and
'when, still more, we consider the nature of
'the principles and views they have so re-
'cently disclosed, and the temper with which
'these have been enunciated, I hesitate not
'to affirm, that the present Government does
'deserve and will command the support of
'every loyal, candid, moderate and enlightened
'man in the kingdom; and will retain that
'support till it has abandoned those just and
'constitutional principles on which it is found-
'ed, and for the maintenance of which the
'high public character of the Premier and his
'Colleagues are a sufficient pledge to the
'Crown and People.'

In reply to all which, be it observed, in the first place, that the present firm opposition in all parts of the kingdom originates in the indignant feeling of the public mind against all political Apostacy,—and when looking 'to the individuals of whom the Administration is com-

posed, and by whom it is supported,' one sentiment alone has roused all consistent Men of every party.—To them nothing can be more obvious than that on the late Coalition, the brand of infamy is stamped too deep to admit of the smallest confidence. But let us see who 'are the individuals of whom it is com-'posed?' With the exception of the Chancellor, Lord Anglesea, and Lord Bexley, they have all avowed their determination by every way but that of making it a Cabinet measure,—a way which happily is not permitted them,—to promote an object against which the sense of the Country was most unequivocally declared last year in the return of an Anti-Catholic House of Commons, while on other questions of great importance, they are, or they profess themselves to be, unalterably divided in opinion. Thus while the Nation sees an approach to unanimity, where it is to be deplored, it searches for it in vain where it is to be desired. Their admirer pretends to discover one ground of stability in the present Administration, and to advance one claim to public approbation for its actions, in a retrospect

of 'the conduct of those who created the 'necessity of framing the present Government, 'their public pretensions and those of their 'adherents,'—and still more in a consideration 'of the nature of the principles and views they 'have so recently disclosed, and the temper 'with which these have been enunciated'.—In other words, because Men of true constitutional principles withhold their approbation of the shameless dereliction of character now before the world,—because they refuse to abandon their great political views, and thereby to commit that moral suicide, which the sagacious enquirer converts into the praise of 'overlooking merely speculative discrepancies,' because, in short they withhold their sanction and support from the solemn mummery which is either to initiate Mr. Canning into the mysteries of Whiggism, or (as Lord Grey and Lord Ellenbrough suppose) to precede its total extinction,—therefore the Administration is firm, and therefore entitled to support. But can this Chronicler of the thoughts and actions of 'every loyal, candid, moderate, and enlightened 'Man in the Kingdom' be really serious?

What is his precise meaning when he speaks of those just and constitutional principles in which the present Government is founded? Is it not notorious that on many great topics the Members of the Cabinet entertain views totally dissimilar? Or is there reserved for the Public a still more shameless display of political tergiversation?

Is it, after all, the case that Mr. Canning and his Friends have taken Whiggism to nurse, while the Marquis of Lansdowne, with his Adherents, have thrown themselves into that vortex of Toryism, from which, for a long series of years, they have warned Mankind as the insatiate grave of all that is great in principle or elevating in policy?

If, then, from this and all similar duplicity the seceding Ministers turn away in abhorrence,—if they indignantly spurn at the mere thought of a compromise of their honorable views,—if against all the seductive allurements of office on the one hand, and all the reviling calumnies of malice on the other, their Patriotism is inflexible,

"Nec magis ——— movetur
"Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes."—

the Nation cannot but deplore their retirement from the State, while it applauds to the very echo so bright a display of consistency and public virtue. Actuated by the purest Constitutional views,—careless alike of the malignity and impotence of their enemies,—and supported by the friends of Order, in every class and every rank, they will transmit to other times their names and their characters unsullied by the smallest political delinquency. The public infamy of their Antagonists will be held in deserved execration,—when their own conduct, as distinguished Advocates of Truth, Liberty and Protestantism will shine with imperishable lustre in the page of faithful and impartial History.

THE GRAND VIZIER UNMASKED;

OR,

REMARKS ON THE SUPPOSED CLAIMS OF MR. CANNING TO PUBLIC CONFIDENCE:

IN AN

APPEAL

TO THE

BRITISH PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE.

BY A PROTESTANT TORY.

"Spe melioris ævi."

"My public life is before you; from that your judgment of me, will naturally be formed."—MR. CANNING'S *Speech to the Liverpool Electors in* 1812.

THIRD EDITION.

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1827.

TO ALL

INHABITANTS OF ENGLAND WHO VALUE A FREE PROTESTANT CONSTITUTION ;

TO ALL WHO REGARD THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH AS THE GREATEST OF NATIONAL BLESSINGS ;

TO ALL WHO ADMIRE THE ANCIENT SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT SO LONG PURSUED BY A PATRIOTIC TORY ADMINISTRATION ;

AND LASTLY,

TO ALL WHO CONTEMPLATE WITH DREAD THE ASCENDANCY OF POPISH AND WHIGGISH PRINCIPLES AMONG US ;

TO ALL SUCH,

OF WHATEVER RANK OR STATION IN LIFE,

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE RESPECTFULLY ADDRESSED.

THE

GRAND VIZIER UNMASKED.

At a moment like the present, when the destinies of England appear, as it were, to hang upon the will and wisdom of one man; when all those whom we have most honoured for their patriotic integrity and long-tried experience in public affairs, as statesmen, are reduced to the rank of private citizens, and when the nation, which had been accustomed to repose with confidence on their wisdom, is unable to place the same confidence in their successors; it becomes a sacred duty to sound the alarm in every dwelling, and to proclaim in every ear, truths which must needs rouse up the

spirit, and influence the resolves of every honest-hearted Englishman.

That the voice of truth has been suppressed in this free country, at the moment when it ought to have sounded loudest, is unequivocally confirmed by the present state of the public press. Not a Paper does aught but re-echo the praises of him whose creature it has become; and the base adulation of those who bow the knee to Baal, is only equalled by their abuse of the high-minded and disinterested statesmen who refuse to sanction a faith which they disbelieve, and to burn incense upon an altar which they abominate.

In proportion, however, to the magnitude of this attempt to delude the public mind, must be our dread of the minister in whose name it has been effected; and we trust that the revulsion of public opinion, so soon as it does take place, will be such as to overthrow all the machinations of those who have endeavoured to mislead it.

"Heaven defend me from my friends!" is an old saying, but one of daily application; and the bitterest enemy of Mr. Canning could not have wished for more than to see him surrounded, as he now is, by venal newsmongers, and parasitical adherents. To him, their undeserved praise is indeed satire in disguise; and the louder their clamour against his political opponents, the more forcibly does it convince us, how weak must be a cause which requires such contemptible auxiliaries. Still, though the poison may be weak, and the constitution of the public mind too strong to be injured by it, prevention is always better than cure, and the less of Mr. Canning's political poisons are now swallowed, the less eventual mischief will be produced by his present ascendancy, throughout the kingdom at large.

It is our object, therefore, in the following pages, so to develope a few leading traits of Mr. Canning's political character and

past conduct, as to enable the simplest mind to judge for itself, whether in times present or times to-come, he is a fit person to preside over the councils of this country? That done, the vindication of His Majesty's late ministers, from the absurd and false charges of disloyalty and misconduct, which the new Premier's friends have endeavoured, by a sort of popular outcry, to raise against them, will become clear as noon-day, and the simplest reader will at once be able to understand who are the real, and who are the pretended friends of the King and of the people.

First, it may be asked, what ought to be the main ingredients in the character of an English Prime Minister?—And what answer more suitable can we return, than to exemplify the Earl of Liverpool? Like him, he should possess devotion to the Church, and loyalty to his King—like him, he should display the virtues of sincerity, integrity, consistency, and independence

of character—like him, by first commanding the respect, he should ensure the confidence of his countrymen.

Now let us examine how far the life, and speeches, and actions of Mr. Canning correspond with those of his lamented predecessor.

Is he a devoted champion of the Protestant Church?

God forbid! answer at once all his admirers. He a bigot—he a lover of high churchmen—he a defender of the faith? No, no; an enlightened mind like his soars far above these vulgar prejudices of vulgar statesmen, and except out of respect for the conventional usages of society, for *il faut quelquefois respecter les préjugés du peuple*, we fear that he is as careless as he is ignorant of the interests of the Church Establishment. We appeal with perfect confidence to those who know him best and admire him most, as to the truth of this assertion, which is, in fact, the highest

praise that he can receive from the disciples of the liberal school; and if he be equally sincere with many among them who advocate the same doctrines, he will be not less pleased to command such a distinguished phalanx, than they can be to range themselves beneath his banners.

Let it not be thought, however, that from his character in private life, or from the eulogiums of his friends alone, we form this estimate of him. We refer to the whole of his public conduct upon the Catholic Question, and appeal unhesitatingly to the common sense of every reader, to determine how far a man, heart and soul interested in the prosperity of the Church, could have ever advocated such a cause *in such a manner*. If ever a statesman indeed committed himself most grossly upon subjects of religion, it is Mr. Canning; and although at different periods he has found it necessary to assume a virtue when he had it not, he wore the cloak so clumsily, and

exposed his ignorance so sillily, that Achilles in petticoats could not have made a more ridiculous figure than Canning in the gown of a doctor of divinity. It would be easy to quote instances without number, in printed speeches of the Right Honourable Gentleman, which record his blunders in this respect; and the castigation of Dr. Phillpott's pamphlet, as preached by Sir John Copley, under the severity of which he writhed so lately in the House of Commons, must be familiar to the minds of all our readers. If, however, any one among them require more direct evidence, we beg to refer him to the single speech on the Catholic Claims in 1825. He will there see by what learned and logical arguments our Saviour's awful denunciations against wilful disbelief of scripture truths, as interwoven with the Athanasian Creed, are proved to be exactly the same as the anathemas of the Pope against such as believe those truths, and disbelieve in Popish corruptions. He will there see

how exactly the sacrament of confession and priestly absolution correspond with the directions for the Visitation of the Sick in our Liturgy; and how the dependence for salvation upon works of supererogation, by which the redundant virtues of one saint may atone for the vices of fifty sinners, is more likely to produce good subjects than the Protestant doctrine, which ensures a virtuous life as the *sine quâ non* of all true belief. He will there see how nonsense such as this, because set off by the meretricious accompaniments of wit and eloquence, which adorn every thing that Canning touches, was received amid the cheers of the enemies of our church, who thronged the opposite benches, and he himself set down by them as worthy to fill the theological professor's chair in the New London University.

That a statesman should, indeed, be necessarily a divine, is quite another question; but we hold that the Prime Minister

of a Protestant King, should be either able to distinguish clearly between scripture truths and papal heresies, or honest enough to avow his ignorance, and at any rate, wise enough to avoid any exposure of it. Above all, his own good sense, if not his principles, should have taught him to curb the spirit of ridicule, when treating of the most awful of all subjects: and whatever be his own opinions, *he* should have been the last man in this country, to insult the national faith, by comparisons not less odious than unwarrantable.

All this may answer very well for a season, in order to obtain the cheers of the Humes and Broughams of the House of Commons; but what, issuing from their lips, might pass away like the idle wind; be comes important and influential, when coming from an official quarter; and it remains for our readers to judge, how far one who thinks thus, and expresses himself thus, and advocates thus a question in-

volving such fearful consequences, is himself a fit person to watch over the interests of the Church Establishment.

Will any one now lay his hand upon his heart and say, that the Right Honourable G. Canning, is a sound, and wise, and conscientious Churchman? Will any one rely with confidence upon his judgment, in regard to what may or may not affect her safety? And can those who are truly her friends, stand by at this awful crisis, and contemplate without dread, the religious character of him, who has just been raised to the highest pitch of ministerial greatness?

If so, they are men of a cooler and more phlegmatic make, than him who has now the honour to address them; and although himself unconnected with the Church, he calls upon them, as well for her own sake, as for the sake of the State, into whose constitution she is ingrafted, to make common cause against any possible constitutional changes, which may be

attempted by that minister, and his Popish confederates. That the Catholic Question is not to be made a Cabinet measure, we owe not to his forbearance, but to the fortitude and high principle of our gracious Sovereign; yet there are, unfortunately, other ways by which its progress may be accelerated, in defiance of His Majesty's known wishes; and the best proof that it is so, will be found in the extravagant rejoicings with which Mr. Canning's elevation is hailed by the friends of Popery, not less than by the internal enemies of our own Church. All alike make head together against her, and all alike make common cause with him, whose attainment of power is associated in their minds with the attainment of power by themselves. How then is it possible, that the same individual should be true to the interests of both? He cannot serve two masters; and whatever difference of opinion may exist on other points, we are persuaded that no true

Churchman can place confidence in the chosen supporter of his enemies. If he does, he must, like the Israelites of old, be unable to see with his own eyes, or to hear with his own ears; and although a Nero fiddled whilst Rome was burning, we trust that the people of England will awake, ere it be too late, and save from impending ruin, that glorious constitutional fabric, of which the Church is the key-stone and foundation.

If Mr. Canning be an unsound Churchman then, as he undoubtedly is, we quite agree with Mr. Peel and his friends, in thinking him on that account alone, a very dangerous Prime Minister; but setting aside all question about the Church, let us examine into his claims for our support on general political grounds.

Is he, we proceed to ask, a consistent statesman?

In regard to his mode of advocating the Catholic claims, Dr. Phillpotts has clearly proved the contrary; but we

will not judge him by his conduct on that one question. Let the history of a long political career speak for itself, and guide our endeavours to form a just estimate of his political character.

Bred up among the noblest, and educated by the most learned of the land, he was ushered into public life, after enjoying every advantage which could substantiate good principles and develope superior talents with the greatest possible success. At the time therefore, when, like another Hercules, he had to make his election between two great parties in the State, from whom did he receive his political creed? Why, from Sheridan, the champion of Whig principles.—"His first political lessons," says his panegyrist, Mr. Moore, "were derived from sources too sacred to his young admiration to be forgotten. He has carried the spirit of those lessons with him into the councils which he joined, and by the vigour of the graft, which, already indeed, *shews*

itself in the fruits, bids fair to *change* altogether the nature of Toryism."

In other words, Whiggism was his first political creed, and the support of Whiggism his youth's disinterested choice. But, unfortunately for his honour, though not for his interest, he was soon quick-sighted enough to perceive (at Sheridan's own suggestion, it is said) that the laurels of Whiggism were barren laurels, whilst Toryism opened the door to power and place, as well as fame.

At the time, therefore, when that early political friend, to whom he had ingenuously unbosomed himself, made known to the world, that a new star was about to appear on the Whig horizon, he made his debut in the House of Commons, in January 1794, as the partizan of Mr. Pitt. The Whigs he loved, but the Tories he loved still better; for the Tory sun then shone in meridian splendour, and under it he basked, until, like the parasite plant which

gives strength to its own supporter, he clung to the British oak, and became a valuable auxiliary branch of Mr. Pitt's administration.

Let it not be thought, however, that in adopting Tory leaders, he wholly abandoned Whig principles. At the formation of Mr. Pitt's new administration in 1805, when the resources of that master mind were again called forth by the unanimous voice of the country, it is on record * that Mr. Canning wished, "like his friend Sheridan, and *like all liberal men*," for what was then called a broad-bottomed administration; that is, one in which all opinions and all creeds were to be harmoniously blended together, like tunes at a Dutch concert, or rather like a Spanish olla podrida, where the crabbed acidity of a puritan might be sweetened by the juices of a bon vivant, and the vulgar tastes of democracy and

* Vide Parliamentary Debates, March 6, 1805.

jacobinism, corrected by the high-bred prelates of aristocracy.

It was well at that eventful moment, that a Pitt was lord of the ascendant; and instead of suffering the substantial interests of the country to be at the mercy of political adventurers, each anxious to secure a place under the specious garb of liberality, he knew that a house divided against itself can never stand, and that to reconcile opinions diametrically opposed, is as absurd a task, as to expect that parallel lines can be made to meet, by increasing their numbers and their length. Mr. Fox and Mr. Tierney both tried it in vain once, and not only lost their characters, but their places in the attempt; and since, in regard to the public, it is certain that one party or the other must make concessions, Mr. Pitt was not the man to diverge, by a single step, from the straight forward path of constitutional duty.

To him therefore in whose steps he indeed

walked, though if his own friends are to be credited, in a very different spirit, Mr. Canning performed the ministerial *Ko-to;* and being unable to join a broad-bottomed administration, he condescended to join one, which Pitt in his wisdom directed upon old fashioned English principles. Here was liberality; here was ministerial friendship; here was respect for the voice of the King and of the country. The early, the still fondly cherished opinions of his youth are again nobly sacrificed at the shrine of personal ambition, and rather than not serve his country at all, he is contented to serve it in any manner which the ruling powers of the day may be pleased to dictate.

Such, be it known to the people of this country, is Mr. Canning's political consistency—but pass we from the times above spoken of to more recent periods of history. We agree with Mr. Moore in thinking that the old leaven of Whiggery still remained in his composition, notwithstand-

ing his assumption of the badges of Toryism, and it is not difficult to trace the progress of acknowledged liberalism on his part, in exact proportion to the progress of his political importance.

After the death of Mr. Pitt, he became for the first time, comparatively speaking, his own master, and soon avowed his determination no longer to bow to any one. Hence he was betrayed into those personal expressions of contempt for a brother colleague, which were universally considered as not less derogatory to his character, upon private than upon public grounds; and having on that occasion made a false estimate of his own power, he was driven as it were, vi et armis, out of the Cabinet, leaving Lord Castlereagh master of the field. It is but justice to him to admit, that for a long time he kept his resolution not to serve under his more powerful rival, until one day, like Tremaine suffering from ennui during his retirement, it is said that he

stumbled across the Roman sentiment, "Non me impedient privatæ offensiones quo minus pro reipublicæ salute etiam cum inimicissimo consentiam." Struck by its magnanimity, he undertook to represent His Majesty in a country where there was neither Court nor King; and although, by Portuguese statesmen with whom we have conversed, his arrival at Lisbon was considered as a job by which his pockets were to benefit, and for which Portugal was a mere pretext, we, ourselves, are willing to give him full credit for so disinterested an imitation of Roman magnanimity. This first step taken, for *ce n'est que le premier pas qui coute*, he consented, on the same high-minded principle, to do what in 1812 he had vowed to the Liverpool electors that he never would do; namely, "to acknowledge a second leader:" then it was that the same identical Mr. Canning, but "quantum mutatus ab illo," allowed Lord Liverpool to place him in office, under the overshadowing

influence of the very man whom in his official capacity he had once affected to despise.

During the remainder of that truly noble and truly consistent statesman's career, he was contented to play an inferior part, and nothing remarkable occurred in his public conduct worthy of notice, except a little innocent flirtation with the Whigs—and a corresponding display of sympathy on their side, towards one whom they always thought at bottom too good and too liberal for his colleagues. Although himself a plebeian, he adopted as his own the ancient aristocratic motto, "I bide my time;" and, to use his own expressive language, as applied to the country at large, "while apparently passive and motionless, he silently concentrated the power to be put forth on an adequate occasion."

In 1817, the Edinburgh Review said what in effect was the bitterest of all taunts to any one who set a value upon what men vulgarly term honesty, but which present

experience unhappily verifies; namely, that he had only made use of Tory principles as a stepping stone to power, and whenever he might gain the latter, he would reject the former as unworthy of him. As the witches predicted that Macbeth would be King, so did this modern oracle of the north predict, that Canning would one day attain the acme of political greatness. Ambition was in the nature of both—but who fanned the rising flame? Who suggested to the one that he should play the traitor, and to the other that he should act the hypocrite, until the attainment of the desired object might render all further acting unnecessary? One was a soldier, the other a statesman of fortune; and if the first, after wading through slaughter to a throne, brought down on his own head eventual ruin, the last may at this moment be building up a tower of strength, of which the greater it now may be, the greater shall be the fall thereof.

Certain it is, that if Mr. Canning be, as he has always professed to be, a Tory, no witch's prediction could be more ominous of ill, than the adulatory support of the enemies of Toryism; and unless he adopt all as well as a part of the principles by them assigned to him, these same Whigs will only lure him to his own destruction, and rejoice at last with a fiendish joy at the fatal completion of their prophecies.

It is not, however, our present business so much to speculate upon the future, as to form an estimate of his conduct in times past; and let us now listen to what he himself said of himself at Liverpool in 1812, namely, that—"He inherited Mr. Pitt's principles, and would always adhere to his opinions, as the guides of his own public conduct." A noble pledge, well worthy of the writer in the Antijacobin; and how has it been redeemed? Why, by a gradual violation of those opinions, as far as the limited extent of his power would

permit, under Lord Liverpool's administration; and by the removal, one by one, of all those ancient landmarks in the state, which antiquity has hallowed, and upon which the political greatness of the country has been hitherto triumphantly established.

Who recognised *the principle* of negro emancipation, unaccompanied by compensation, a measure not less at variance with his own opinions, as expressed in Mr. Huskisson's letter to Mr. Gladstone, than with every sound principle of justice and colonial policy?

We answer, Mr. Canning.

Who originated and carried the *partial* adoption of certain principles in political economy, of which the excellence, even in theory, solely depends upon their universality, just as a watch, however beautiful, is worse than useless, unless *all* its springs and wheels are set in motion together?

We answer, Mr. Canning and his friend Mr. Huskisson.

Who tampered with the currency, and encouraged the Bank in their system of over-issues, until the evil was irremediable, and then, by a sudden check, made that evil productive of tenfold ruin, and by becoming the first to sound the alarm, augmented instead of palliating the mischief?

We again answer, Mr. Canning and his friend Mr. Robinson.

Honour to whom honour is due—praise to whom praise—the thunder of free trade may have originated with his friends the Whigs; but his was the glory of allowing its sound to be heard among the nations, and with generous philanthropy of increasing their commercial resources at our expense.

Who fabricated a paper constitution for the Portuguese, and imposed it upon a nation obviously incapacitated for the right enjoyment of it, and then shipped off an army to Portugal, in order that English bayonets might support, what "a nation swoln in ignorance and pride," refused to

stomach? Who, in his celebrated speech upon the occasion, instead of contenting himself as vulgar statesmen would have done, with a simple explanation of the casus fœderis, indulged his imagination in the most inflammatory effusions of ultra liberalism? Who talked of letting slip the revolutionary furies of war, of which we held the leash, at our own good will and pleasure, to the subversion of all kingly governments? Who, by rousing the fears, and insulting the feelings, and alienating the confidence of our European allies, sowed seeds of discord, which may ere long spring up, like those of Cadmus, as armed men, and replunge us into all the miseries of war? Who disclaimed in the closet what he had just spoken in the senate, and fixed an eternal seal of reprobation upon his own sayings? Who, instead of modestly calling out, like Cardinal Wolsey; *ego et rex meus*, forgot His Ma-

jesty altogether on that memorable occasion?

"*I*," said he, "called a new world into existence—*I* redressed the balance of the old,"—feeling doubtless at the time a secret presentiment, that the making use of His Majesty's name at all, in a revolutionary harangue, would have been more inconsistent than the omission of it.

Who, then, is responsible for all this unstatesmanlike conduct?

We answer, Mr. Canning.

Who, so late as the present year, declared Catholic Emancipation to be the only panacea for the miseries of Ireland, and from his seat on the Treasury bench, as a cabinet minister, preached up insurrection to the deluded Irish, by saying, that unless they obtained immediate relief, he anticipated consequences which were to be imagined, rather than described?

The Right Hon. George Canning.

Who endeavoured to undermine those agricultural laws and regulations, which Mr. Pitt once called the sinews of England's greatness, and but for which our aristocracy would be only a name, our agricultural interests a shadow?

Who but Mr. Canning? And if through the vigilant, determined resistance of the country gentlemen, headed in one House by the indefatigable Sir Thomas Lethbridge, and about to be supported by the principal Nobles of the land in the other, he was forced so to modify the intended system as to neutralize all its properties, the nation thanks them, not him, for the result; while the real political economists who have been deluded by his promises, declare very properly, that half-measures are worse than none at all.

Who, lastly, in consequence of a succession of opposite councils, and changes without number in the established order of things, which at one period were declared

to be brimfull of prosperity, and six months after proved to be pregnant with ruin —who is the author of the distress and misery, under which the country now labours in an unexampled degree? Again we answer, Mr. Canning! for he took to himself the credit of advocating and acting upon the free trade system—his therefore be the discredit of having entailed upon the country all its present ruinous consequence.

Now let us ask, how all this tends to prove the consistency of Mr. Canning? Was this conduct to be expected of a staunch disciple of Pitt—was this in strict accordance with his principles and opinions?

We answer unequivocally, No! But, said the Right Honourable Gentleman, in 1826,* I am now twelve years older, and twelve years wiser, than when I called myself a

* Vide Parliamentary Debates.

perfect Pittite.—Since then, I have seen new lights, and intend to improve upon my master, "whom in his brightness I admire; but cease to adore when he suffers an eclipse."—Shade of Pitt! Oh that thou couldst arise, and listen to this language of thy foster child—that thou couldst hear Canning exclaim, "William Pitt was indeed a great statesman, but I am a greater than he; enlightened by Jeremy Bentham, *clarum et venerabile nomen*, and assisted in my deliberations by the seven sages of modern Greece, Hume, Burdett, Hobhouse, Brougham, Bowring, Ellice, and Ricardo; I am now perfectly well able to ridicule all his financial blunders, and to cull out the good from amidst the evil, with which his policy was encumbered."

Oh, blessed change! *Oh nimium felices sua si bona norint*, are the people of this country, with the pseudo-pupil of Pitt, already risen in his own estimation far

above his illustrious master, at the head of public affairs; who now for the first time kindly undertakes, in the absence of a Peel, an Eldon, a Wellington, and a Bathurst, with the remainder of Mr. Pitt's ancient colleagues, to form an administration of which he himself is to be the Alpha and the Omega! When the news of Lord Melville's resignation arrived at Edinburgh, it is said that the people cried out, with one accord, Prodigious!!! and well indeed they might; but our surprise will be still greater, if Mr. Canning is able, in spite of themselves, to force down the throats of our aristocratic neighbours, a ministry of which the only clue to ascertain the probable principles is to be found in the political life of Mr. Canning.

For our own parts we freely confess, that in endeavouring to ascertain what he is and what he is not, we have involved ourselves in a labyrinth, from which the adoption of one opinion can alone extri-

cate us: namely, that he is a man of no fixed principle at all, except inasmuch as personal ambition may be denominated a principle. Consistency must indeed by this time be altogether rejected by him, as a superfluous appendage of *official* greatness; and provided he can keep his place, now he has gained it, what boots it to him who are his colleagues? He stands therefore on a sort of debateable ground; and jingling the seals of office in one hand, with the Treasury bags in the other, he cries out in loud but coaxing accents, "Come hither, come hither, my lords and gentlemen, who'll buy? who'll buy dukedoms, stars, ribbands, places, peerages, and pensions, for sale to the highest bidder?"

"With the King, and Heir-apparent, and Treasury, and Press, all united in my favour, who shall dare disbelieve that I am the idol of the country? but the Tories appear shy of me, and refuse my proffered dainties. The Speaker, Lord Colchester, even Wallace,

who was so loth to depart; all indignantly decline acceptance of the Home Office and a peerage—then must I turn to my old friends the Whigs; and why not? If in Castlereagh's time I served *etiam cum inimicissimo*, by how much more ought I now to divide my sway *etiam cum amicissimis?* We have lately differed only in name, our hearts have always been united. 'Lord Lansdowne, will you take the seals of office under me?' 'Not unless Catholic Emancipation is made a cabinet measure.' 'But His Majesty will not allow me.' 'Then I will not accept office upon such terms,' answers his Lordship, proudly—'*I* at least have a character for consistency to maintain; and *I* value character above place!'"

We hope, for the honour of the Whig aristocracy, that his Lordship will maintain his ground, and will not suffer his own high sense of rectitude to be perverted by the sophistry of less disinterested advisers.

The general and very natural sentiment

however, of the more plebeian Whigs, is to come into office upon any terms, and since, say they, we cannot induce His Majesty to turn Catholic, for the sake of easing our conscientious scruples, why should not we for His Majesty's sake turn Protestants, and await a more favourable opportunity for the advancement of the Catholic cause? At any rate, the Papists can lose nothing by our desertion of them, though we may be great gainers by it; and after all, however important the Catholic cause may appear to the individuals interested, they constitute a minority of the nation, and ought not the duty of recognizing the Sovereign's choice of a prime minister to be paramount to all other considerations?

If, as we tell the world, the late ministers, who declined the honour of serving His Majesty under Mr. Canning's direction, partly from a fear of his injuring the Protestant cause, and partly from a distrust of his political character, were guilty of

an attempt to fetter the Royal Prerogative, should not we be still more guilty of the same offence, by refusing to serve His Majesty under a man in whom we do confide, and of whose policy we approve, merely from a dread of injuring the Catholic cause, which we have pledged our honour to advocate?

If they, the Tories, were guilty of the grossest ingratitude to their royal benefactor, by giving up power, wealth, place, and patronage, from a conscientious sense of political rectitude, how much more ungrateful would it be in us to refuse acceptance of all those blessings which Mr. Canning now proffers to us in his Majesty's name, for the mere sake of political consistency! They indeed might love the Protestant Church, in whose doctrines they believe, and dread the ascendancy of the Roman Catholic Church, whose doctrines they reprobate; but all the world knows that we care as little for the one as for the other,

and have only one interest in common with the Catholics, namely, the attainment of political power.

Twice have these cogent reasons been urged upon Lord Lansdowne by his right honourable and honourable and learned partizans, and twice we understand his Lordship to have answered that "CONSISTENCY" was to be his political motto. Still they have not been rebuffed. Lord Lansdowne, say they, is a peer of the realm, and we are, most of us, simple commoners; Lord Lansdowne has large possessions, and we are political adventurers; Lord Lansdowne stands so high on his own independent footing, that Mr. Canning can scarcely raise him higher; and he may, by trusting to that leader's waxen wings, fall like another Icarus in the attempt; but we have nothing to lose, and every thing to gain. As Greeks, we may redeem our credit in the city, by lending the sanction of Government to a

new Greek Loan; and if we have robbed Peter of his dues, we can at least pay Paul, by aiding in the deliverance of the Greek, instead of the Romish Church.

Mr. Hume shall make out both army and navy estimates, as Treasurer of the Navy and Secretary at War, on a new economical plan; and Burdett, Hobhouse, Canning, Huskisson, &c., will form a Board of Parliamentary Reform; Jeremy Bentham shall be our Chancellor in Ireland; Lord Archibald Hamilton, Advocate-General and Manager of the Scotch boroughs; Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman, Attorney and Solicitor-General to *His Majesty*; Mr. Fowel Buxton, Minister for the Colonies; Sir Alexander Grant, Speaker of the House of Commons; Mr. M'Culloch, President of the Board of Trade; Mr. Peter Moore, Keeper of the King's Bench Prison; Messrs. Ricardo shall be Contractors for all Loans, past, present, and prospective, which may be wanted to defray the expenses of

maintaining paper constitutions in foreign countries,—on a proviso that they shall only charge fifty per cent. commission; Lord Cochrane shall take command of the Naval Force in the Mediterranean; and His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex shall be Chancellor of the University of London, which will now be placed on an equal footing with Oxford and Cambridge.

Such, doubtless, are some of the schemes pursued by these wise Grecians in their camp at Brookes's; and so justly proud are they of their heroic achievements in the land of liberty, that they already propose to designate their embryo ministers, THE GREEKS, par excellence, as the last Whig Ministers called themselves, THE TALENTS! If their ambitious dreams be not realized through Lord Lansdowne's sense of honour, or any other cause, they will have proved to the world that they are not less unskilful than inconsistent diplomatists, since the will to govern is acknowledged by them,

the power alone is wanting, and Lord Lansdowne, whichever course he may now pursue, will either reflect a tacit reproach upon them by not acceding to their wishes, or by sharing their inconsistency, fall in his own esteem, and lose the confidence, not only of the Catholics, but of all straightforward, high-minded Englishmen.

This attempt of Mr. Canning and the Whigs to rob the Catholics of those claims on their support, to which honour on the one side and confidence on the other, appear fairly to have entitled them, reminds us of a little fable of Cowper, in which he supposes a boy, when asked to join in robbing an orchard, to have the same conscientious scruples for which common report now gives Lord Lansdowne credit:

They spoke, and Tom ponder'd: "I see they will go,
Poor man! what a pity to injure him so;
Poor man! I would save him his fruit if I could,
But staying behind will do him no good.

If the matter depended alone upon me,
His apples might hang till they dropp'd from the tree;
But since they will take them, I think I'll go too,
He will lose none by me, tho' I get a few."
His scruples thus silenced, Tom felt more at ease;
And went with his comrades the apples to seize;
He vow'd and protested, but join'd in the plan;
He shar'd in the plunder, but pitied the man.

In our present case, the apples are the ministerial places, and the Catholics, who are robbed of their just rights, according to the Whiggish doctrines, and who ought to be, if they actually are not, part-owners of the state orchard, are the persons injured.

Lord Lansdowne vows and protests—but will, as we fear, though for his own sake we hope even against hope that he will not, be induced to share in the Treasury plunder—and pities the poor Catholics, whom he would be too happy to serve, if he could, by the sacrifice of every thing except place.

Since then we are now to have a broad-bottomed administration, such as Sheridan

assures us Canning wished for in 1803, yet refused to join in 1806, and which is to be Protestant by name and in spirit, as far as His Majesty is concerned, but Catholic in spirit as far as the majority of ministers are concerned—it already bids fair to outrival that of the Talents in liberality and consistency, if not likewise in durability. *Sit suo similis patri!*

The characters of those already named are not unknown to the public.

First comes that liberal-minded gentleman, and accomplished scholar, and able common lawyer, Sir John Copley—a man in every thing, except forensic eloquence and wit, far superior to Lord Erskine, but quite his equal in ignorance of the practice and precedents of the Court of Chancery.

The letters said to have passed between him and his new patron, with a sight of which we have been favoured, cannot but amuse our readers.

DEAR COPLEY,

I wish you could contrive to call on me. Except on account of Dr. Phillpott's stinging pamphlet, which I have now forgotten,

Believe me, that I always have been,

Your's very truly,

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

DEAR CANNING,

Except for forty-eight hours, I have always been, and still am,

Your's very truly,

(Signed) JOHN COPLEY.

The *amende honorable* thus made on both sides, it is distinctly specified by Sir John's own friends, that Canning made the first bow to him; he did not make the first to Canning; and the bitter draught once swallowed by the Premier at His Majesty's desire, he soon begins to feel the all pleasant effects of it, in the agreeable convenient talents of the new Chancellor.

Interea perpotat amarum,
Absinthi laticem decepta què non capiatur,
Sed potius tali factu recreatá valescat.

The future character of the new Chancellor will be determined by his maintenance of the Protestant cause, with the same zeal which he shewed as a member of the House of Commons, with the wisdom of his venerable predecessor.

Lord Plunket, the new Ministerial Peer, has been transplanted from Ireland, his native soil, where his talents, if well-directed, might have been eminently useful, to a country in which, as far as the legal profession is concerned, he is an entire stranger; and it is only in consequence of the strong feeling of the Bar, and his own high sense of rectitude, that one of the highest judicial situations in the kingdom has not been made a convenience of by Mr. Canning, in order that the Irish orator might support him in the House of Lords.

Of Lord Harrowby we shall say nothing. He is an angel of light, though a fallen angel in comparison with some others, and as a sincere advocate of Catholic Emancipation,

he cannot, *if, as a Tory,* he places confidence in Mr. Canning and the Whigs, be accused of inconsistency.

Lord Bexley, " among the faithful faithless only found," went out by mistake, poor man! and crying *peccavi,* was pardoned by the Grand Lama, whose high priest he is now appointed.

The only inference to be drawn from hence, is, that Canning must find himself very very weak, or Lord Bexley very strong in these eventful times. And if the new minister be supported by the third party in the state, to whom he has so long trimmed and truckled, as well as by Whigs and Catholics, such an alliance will, we apprehend, be equally creditable and agreeable to all parties,

Lord Dudley, once a Whig, is a scholar and a wit, and a nobleman whom as such any minister might be proud to number among his personal adherents; but we understand that his Lordship has, for reasons best known to himself, declined the offer

made to him, and does no more than hold a provisional appointment as Foreign Secretary.

Lord Seaford is a West India planter, and we only trust that he will serve the nation at large more successfully in the Cabinet than he has hitherto done the colonial part of it as Chairman of the West India body. If placed there, he can only shine with borrowed light, and if displaced, nobody will miss him.

Lord Granville is a respectable nobleman, and has been an ambassador; ergo, he will of course be an efficient Cabinet Minister, if made one, under the tutelary guidance of his patron.

For Mr. Robinson we entertain the highest possible respect, and firmly believe that had he been chosen as Premier, no secession from the Cabinet would ever have taken place. His character stands by far the highest of the triumvirate of which Mr. Huskisson is the remaining member; and of him we shall only say that his an-

cient jacobinical principles are, if possible, still more dangerous than those of his friend Mr. Canning.

In an inferior capacity, under the latter's guidance, he has done more mischief to the commerce of this country than he is ever likely to remedy; and if, as it is said, he now shrinks from the post of danger to the covert retirement of the Home Office, his successor will undertake the performance of an arduous task.

The idea, however consistent with the other inconsistencies of Mr. Canning, is, if true, at any rate creditable to his judgment; for a timely retreat is always better than obstinate persistance in error, and he must by this time be pretty well convinced, that, out of the bills of mortality, the free trade system has very few supporters.

What the political economists and utilitarians will say to this desertion of the cause, for espousing which he has been so much vaunted, is his own business entirely; and if in the endeavour to please all parties,

he should, like the man in the fable, be at last rejected by all, it will, we think, be a very natural sequel to the whole performance.

We have, in Mr. Addington's time, seen two different parties professing distinct motives, but aiming at the same ends; and if we should now have a double opposition, it would be absurd enough to witness old George Tierney exclaiming, like the inn-keeper at Brentford, when plagued by a double rival,

> "We are the old Opposition on the right;
> The others have set up in spite."

But the occasion is too serious for pleasantry; and now that after a long, perhaps a tedious, but certainly a faithful enumeration of those traits in Mr. Canning's political character, which are directly the reverse of his predecessor's, we may fairly inquire what are the grounds upon which he is entitled to our support.

His great parliamentary talents are commonly urged by every fond admirer as a

triumphant answer to this question; but what talents possessed by him have not been possessed in a still higher degree by Charles Fox and Sheridan? Yet their talents never entitled them to public confidence as ministers of this country. We ask, if he is a sound Churchman, and we are told that he is a great orator: we ask if he is a wise statesman, and we are told that he is a clever one. But to those higher and more substantial attainments of the heart as well as head, of political consistency as well as ability, which constitute political greatness, and on which alone the nation can place dependence, we never yet heard Mr. Canning's own fondest admirers assert that he laid claim.

On what, then, does he ground his pretensions to the support of our late ministers and their Tory adherents, against their own conscientious sense of his incapacity for the situation which he now occupies?

The answer is, His Majesty's command;

and because, for reasons only known to His Majesty, the King is graciously pleased to appoint him Minister, we are expected to sacrifice faith, conscience, principle and reason, at the shrine of that minister's ambition. Undoubtedly, say his supporters, if respect for the Sovereign, and love of the public service should require it. But after all, what are the Tories required to sacrifice, when Mr. Canning enters into office with an express proviso on the part of His Majesty, that the Catholic question shall not only be left unmooted in the Cabinet, but that there shall be a Protestant Chancellor and a Protestant Lord-Lieutenant, as well as Secretary in Ireland?

This we know for certain, to have been stated by His Majesty to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, at the interview with which they were lately honoured; together with a distinct assurance on the part of His Majesty, that his own feelings on the subject, were as

decidedly anti-catholic as those of his late revered Father: nay more, His Majesty was graciously pleased to declare, in further corroboration of those sentiments as entertained by him, that when the Whigs came into power in 1806, the then Prince of Wales obtained from Mr. Fox a pledge, that he would never harass the King's mind, by any ministerial discussion of the subject.

We mention this as a curious historical fact, now for the first time published, and to the truth of which we solemnly pledge ourselves.

It is deeply important on the present occasion, inasmuch as it shews the perfidious insincerity of the Whigs, at a very similar epoch of British history. Mr. Fox accepted office, after giving that pledge; and after receiving, as we also believe to have been the case, a letter from the King himself to the same effect, in the substance of which, he and his party acquiesced; thereby violating all his pledges to the Catholics.

Notwithstanding this, the subject *was* intruded upon his Majesty's attention, in the most disgraceful manner, by the present Earl Grey, and the immediate consequence of their perfidy to the spirit, if not to the letter of their engagements, with his late and present Majesty, was the dissolution of the Whig ministry.

Facts like these speak volumes. What sincere Protestant can hereafter place confidence in an administration, of which the Whigs constitute a component part, in which the Roman Catholic interest greatly preponderates, and at the head of which is a Roman Catholic statesman like Mr. Canning?

If we be distrustful, who can now say, that we have not shewn good cause for anxiety and alarm? If others are more confident, let them remember, ere it be too late, that rashness is nearer allied to folly than to wisdom; and mischief, which by due caution might have been averted, often becomes through the neglect of it irreparable.

We believe it was Sheridan first said, in the House of Commons—

> "Hark, in the lobby, hear a lion roar;
> Say, Mr. Speaker, shall we shut the door;
> Or, Mr. Speaker, shall we let him in,
> To try if we can turn him out again?"

The application of this to Mr. Canning and his Popish and Whiggish confederates, is unfortunately but too obvious.

In regard to the interesting facts which we have just communicated, it is impossible not to feel that such a declaration from such a quarter at such a moment, entitles the Monarch to the unbounded confidence and gratitude of his subjects. Pledged, however, as Mr. Canning is to the Catholic cause, by his very last speech this Session, if by nothing more, in which he records his conviction, that indescribable horrors must ensue, if it be not immediately carried; trusted too, as Mr. Canning is by its advocates, and supported as he is by its supporters; our admiration of the King,

who imposed such hard conditions, is only equalled by our distrust of the Minister who accepted them. Committed as he was to the Catholics before, and pledged as he is to the King now, he must in his future conduct either continue to act the hypocrite, or deliberately play the knave.

If true to their cause, he accepts office upon pledging his honour to certain conditions, and keeps them in the letter only, but violates them in the spirit by indirect means, as we fear he will do; or by selecting a better moment to strike the blow, he will in that case be a very traitor; but if he prefer the safer course of loyalty to the King, or be constrained *nolens volens* to adopt it, the Catholics will then justly accuse him of

> "Paltering with them in a double sense,
> Which keeps the word of promise to the ear,
> Yet breaks it to the hope."

At all events he must either become faithless to his party or faithless to his King, or

hypocrite to both, and whichever course he may pursue, he proves himself by his own act to be unworthy of the confidence of all.

Is this then the Sun round which such men as Peel, and Eldon, and Wellington, are expected to revolve, because, forsooth, his Parliamentary talents, combined with other secret causes, have gained him a temporary ascendancy? Forbid it, justice! forbid it, integrity! forbid it, heroism! forbid it every virtue possessed by them, and not possessed by him in common with them.

Forbid it the spirit of true loyalty—not that loyalty, now for the first time vaunted as such, which consists in abject submission without regard for higher motives to the man, whom a particular concurrence of circumstances may for the moment enable to gain the royal ear; but that loyalty, which, animated by a high sense of honour and sanctioned by religion, enables British statesmen at the hour of trial to act as faithful council-

lors of their Monarch,—that loyalty which forces from their lips at every hazard, an avowal of their conscientious feelings, and which induces them to resign power, wealth, and place, not even excepting Royal favour, rather than hold them for an instant at the expense of their own principles, under a man whom they believe to be unprincipled. We retort, therefore, upon him, who makes it, the charge of disloyalty and disaffection. The characters of our late ministers stand aloft in proud pre-eminence, far beyond the reach of factious abuse; but let Mr. Canning's friends say in what manner he ever afforded particular proof of his disinterested loyalty to the King.

We feel indeed convinced that the present sunshine of Royal favour, emanates more from the high-minded forgetfulness of the past which characterizes the Monarch, and inclines him towards a powerful Parliamentary suppliant for office, rather than from any strong feelings of approval on the

one side, or personal devotion on the other. In the same manner that His Majesty accepted him at Lord Liverpool's desire formerly, he has now condescended to receive him again in that nobleman's room; but the colleagues, who would have served with him as an *equal*, are nearly unanimous in rejecting him as a *head*; and foreseeing that he would no longer be restrained within bounds, by their superior wisdom and discretion, they resign the power for which they were responsible, upon the belief that it could never be exercised under such direction, without the risk of ruin to the country, and dishonour to themselves.

Let the Nation now judge between Mr. Canning and his friends, and the late Ministers and their friends; and say who most deserve the confidence and admiration of the country—which is most magnanimous, the sacrifice of principles to ambition, or of ambition to high principles?

Suppose it, however, urged that the con-

ditions imposed upon Canning, were in reality sufficient safeguards against his abuse of power—we answer, that His Majesty's will is law, in regard to the choice of a Prime Minister, whom as subjects we will endeavour to honour and obey; but as brother colleagues, it became the duty of statesmen to decide conscientiously how far the new Premier's political character entitled him to their confidence and support. If their consciences would not allow them to agree in opinion with His Majesty, as to that Minister's eligibility for such an office, how could they consistently co-operate with their Royal Master, in a measure of which they disapprove, and for which as parties they would have been responsible?

Besides, however great the present King's influence may be in preventing present mischief, and none can estimate it more highly than ourselves, it cannot counteract all future dangers; and where the character of a new Minister is questioned, it

becomes the duty of all who distrust him to resist from the beginning, upon public grounds, the march of his political greatness. Another Pharaoh may arise in the land with very different constitutional feelings from those of his predecessor, and who shall then be our safeguard against his Prime Minister's unconstitutional proceedings?

The man who out of mistaken ideas of respect and submission to the choice of his present Majesty, should have contributed to that Minister's attainment of supreme power, might then discover his error only when it was irremediable, and become a party to his own wrong.

Let the zealous enemies, or the lukewarm friends of the Protestant cause, and the personal adherents of Mr. Canning; *quocumque nomine gaudent*, whether Whigs, Catholics or Liberals, contribute to his support. Let high-minded noblemen stoop if they please to the embryo Minister; and high-

bred noblemen, we say, it rather in sorrow than derision, barter boroughs and principles for Ministerial Patronage. Let those who called themselves Pittites when Pitt was first Lord of the Treasury, call themselves Canningites, now a greater than he presides there. Let Vicars of Bray and other churchmen of the same school, bow down before the mighty dispenser of Church patronage. Let all the wise men of the world, in short, come forward and adore the Rising Sun, and throw a specious gloss over the rottenness of their new Idol, by decorating it with imaginary virtues, in order to disguise their own innate corruption. Such men as those above spoken of in every age and every clime will be always found to prosper, and we look not for their support; but to a higher and a nobler, and a far more numerous, as well as influential class of men, we boldly make our solemn appeal on this most solemn of occasions.

We call on the Nobility and Gentry of

the Land, that Aristocracy which is the boast of Europe, and to the due preponderance of which in our national councils, may be chiefly ascribed the social greatness of the country—upon them we call; in full persuasion that they will exercise their constitutional power in withstanding to the utmost the elevation of a man, whose interests and theirs are diametrically at variance.

A noble example has been set for their imitation by the most high-minded Statesman, and the wisest Judge, and the greatest Military Commander of the age, and nobly has it been followed by their respective political friends and supporters. All the ancient colleagues and adherents of Mr. Pitt, have revolted with becoming indignation from the councils of one who, in the first blaze of expected power, renounces the principles of the man who made him what he is, and to whom he vowed eternal allegiance. Let not our readers be deceived

by vulgar artifices; this is no private quarrel between man and man, but a political separation upon pure political grounds, and if the character of the individual has increased in particular instances the general feeling of distrust of his public character as a statesman, the fault must surely be his whose conduct has incurred the imputation.

To all Churchmen who value the Religion of their Fathers, and attribute its preservation, in a main degree, among us, to its secure Establishment—to all who regard its ascendancy in the State, as essential to the safety of the State, and the loss of that ascendancy as tantamount to ruin—to all such, whatever be their rank and station, we appeal with perfect confidence, in the hope that they will seriously bestir themselves, in opposition to a minister, who evidently seeks to build his greatness upon their weakness. —to our Protestant Dissenting Brethren, who, whatever may be our differences on minor points, unite with us in dread of

Popish artifices and detestation of Papal Supremacy—lastly, to the enlightened Yeomanry and Commonalty of the land—men who value their liberties more than life, and who consider our Protestant Constitution as the main prop and safeguard of them—to all who regard Political Integrity and Consistency as the main qualifications of a Prime Minister, and who prefer the security of our agricultural, commercial, manufactural, and colonial interests, as provided for by our forefathers, to speculative and dangerous innovations—to all who have been accustomed to admire a Peel, and to look up to him as the nation's hope, we now address ourselves, for their unanimous and effectual support against the rival who would not hesitate to sacrifice the nation's vital interests for the sake of his own personal aggrandizement.

For a time, the voice of faction, and intrigue, and political corruption, may prevail; but we well know that the man in

whom the majority of people in this free, Protestant country, place the greatest, nay the only real confidence, is Peel. A Canning they may admire, as a wit, and an orator, and a clever political adventurer; but Peel is the statesman, whose character, like Lord Liverpool's, has by its uniform consistency, commanded the respect, and thereby insured the confidence of his fellow-countrymen.

To him, who is a true Pittite, we may now justly apply as prophetic Mr. Canning's own eulogy of his great master:

> "At the footstool of Pow'r let Flattery fawn,
> Let Faction her idols extol to the skies;
> To Virtue, in humble resentment withdrawn,
> Unblam'd, may the merits of gratitude rise."

Let those then, who now wander about, uncertain which side to choose, and are afraid of committing themselves, remember that he who is not with us is against us. Now is the time for those who are honest to evince it by their actions, as they have heretofore

done by their words. Now is the time to crush the canker of Canning's power in the bud; and that will be done not by loitering at home idle, but by bestirring themselves in a manner worthy of their characters as English patriots, to avert the evils which long continued lethargy will inevitably produce.

Let the voice of the country be raised as in days of yore; let it burst asunder the bonds by which a venal and unconstitutional press has attempted to bind it, and let the sentiments of the English people be transmitted through the medium of their Representatives to the King.

Upon such an occasion, England's main reliance is upon her Representatives in Parliament assembled.

If they be Whigs, and Liberals, and Catholics, let them support a Whig and Liberal administration; but if they be sound Protestant Tories, sent there by Protestant constituents, let them beware of the awful re-

sponsibility which attaches to them; and instead of supporting a Minister of whose principles and intentions they are distrustful, merely because he is now Minister, let them support the cause of the Constitution as established in Church and State. Let the Country Gentlemen remember, that the concessions reluctantly made by Mr. Canning, as a junior colleague of a Tory Administration, will not long be acted upon now that he stands at the head of a Liberal Administration; and if they aid in establishing his power now, they may rue it for ever.

When the horse had once allied himself to man, he could never regain his former independence.

"Non equitem dorso non frænum depulit ore."

So will it be with the landed interests of this country, if they once acknowledge Canning for their master. So may it be for the Church Establishment and other

Protestant communions, if they adhere to the supporter of Catholic Emancipation; and so will it be for the nation at large if, deluded by his sophistry, and dazzled by his talents, and captivated by his eloquence, they surrender their solemn judgment and vital interests to the personal ambition of Mr. Canning.

THE END.

SHACKELL AND BAYLIS, JOHNSON'S COURT, FLEET STREET.

THE

PROTESTANT TORY REFUTED:

IN REPLY TO A PAMPHLET

ENTITLED,

"THE GRAND VIZIER UNMASKED."

Here's a stay
That shakes the rotten carcase of old death
Out of his rags! Here 's a large mouth, indeed,
That spits forth death and mountains, rocks and seas;
Talks as familiarly of roaring lions,
As maids of thirteen do of puppy dogs!
What cannoneer begot this lusty blood?
He speaks plain cannon, fire and smoke and bounce;
He gives the bastinado with his tongue;
Our ears are cudgelled; not a word of his,
But buffets better than a fist of France:
Zounds! I was never so bethump'd with words
Since I first called my brother's father, dad.

SHAKSPEARE.

LONDON:
J. HATCHARD AND SON, 187, PICCADILLY.
1827.

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IBOTSON AND PALMER, PRINTERS, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.

THE

PROTESTANT TORY REFUTED.

THERE is nothing so laborious as to answer a bungler. He who undertakes to reply to such a work as "The Grand Vizier Unmasked," has to arrange the materials of two pamphlets at once: first, he must put in an intelligible form that of his opponent, and then his own. Which of these tasks will prove the most difficult in the present instance, no man who has read the production of the Protestant Tory can long doubt. For our own part, when we cast it behind us after the first perusal, we little thought, as we smiled at the soreness and simplicity of the author, that it would ever occupy another moment of our time, or exist again in our memories. But it seems that we underrated its value; and when the public prints announced that a third edition was about to appear, we were induced to consider whether the opinion

which we had at first formed of its merits, was well founded or not. Accordingly, with this candid intent we resolved to bring the little treasure again to light; and having, after considerable search, rummaged it out from some of our various heaps of waste paper and other lumber, we patiently set ourselves to work, and gave it a second hearing. But, alas! there are some minds so irretrievably benighted that nothing is sufficient to illumine them; and at the happy termination of this our labour, we found ourselves not only as blind to its excellence as we were before, but obstinately convinced that a more shallow effusion never issued from the press.

In consequence of this opinion, which we did not conceal, we were called upon to reply to it; and most reluctantly do we answer the call, candidly confessing, even now, with pen in hand, that we know not how to grapple with a work which, according to our ideas of composition, has neither beginning, middle, nor end—which is totally destitute of all clear arrangement, or even the attempt at it; which pretends not to the semblance of argument from the first word to the last; and which, by exhibiting all the malignity of satire, though without the wit, evidently means to be severe, but ends

in being no more than ridiculous; since, in effect, it contains nothing but a tissue of abuse without proof, and of the most uncourteous and intemperate invective, without so much as the shadow of evidence. How, then, is it possible to reply to such a tirade as this, in which not only are there no two consecutive pages which have uniform reference to each other, but where there is scarcely a single page containing any thing more argumentative than what is afforded by personal censure, alleged facts without references, or arbitrary opinions unsupported by reasoning?

This gentleman, in truth, seems to have discovered that the perfection of logical analysis is his *ipse dixit*.

Writers of a less celestial intellect, and great names in their time, pursued a different course. Before the days of the Protestant Tory, lived one John Locke. (Did the Tory ever hear of him? At any rate he has not copied his style.) He wrote a book on the human understanding, formerly was esteemed a wise man: we, happy in our foolishness, have coincided with that once so generally-received opinion; and having acquired from his writings a habit of looking for the reason of things, and of preferring the argumentative to

the Protestant-Tory-mode of conducting an inquiry, feel ourselves greatly at a loss on the present emergency, and altogether unprepared to enter upon so novel a species of warfare.

The only effectual method, indeed, of dealing with this pamphlet, would be to take the whole by sentences, each in the order in which it is placed, and to answer them paragraph by paragraph; but as this would be rather too much for our readers as well as ourselves, we will travel by a shorter road, and if we can succeed in ferretting out some tangible charge brought forward against Mr. Canning in any thing approaching to an intelligible shape, we will persevere in dodging it through the labyrinth in which it is entangled, with as much patience as we can command.

How many charges the author means to prefer against the object of his envy, in the sixty-five pages of vituperation which are now before us, we have no means of discovering. We would not willingly be guilty of omission, but as it is more than probable that that learned individual is in an equal state of uncertainty with ourselves in this respect, we must content ourselves with giving as good a guess as we can at the supposed number of guns in the battery.

These charges, then, appear to us to be two in number—one, Catholic advocacy; the other, political inconsistency.

Our author may haply imagine, that his accusations are nearer twenty in number than two; and so, for aught we know, they may be: but we again assure our readers, that as it is out of our power even to patch up from his pages more than the two above mentioned, into any shape sufficiently distinct and intelligible to admit of a distinct and intelligible answer, we cannot do more than apply to the remainder of the work the same species of desultory writing in which it has been framed. Our reply, therefore, will be divided into the three following heads—Catholic Advocacy, Political Inconsistency, General Remarks.

CATHOLIC ADVOCACY.

Our author, after informing us, at page 4, that the main ingredients in the character of an English Prime Minister are, that he should be the Earl of Liverpool, proceeds to say, that Mr. Canning is by no means fitted for that high station, because he is not "a devoted champion of the Protestant Church, "and because, as he frequently tells us in other "places, *he has swerved from the principles of*

" *Mr. Pitt.*" At page 15, we find as follows:— " At the formation of Mr. Pitt's new administra- " tion in 1805, when the resources of *that master-* " *mind were again called forth by the unanimous* " *voice of the country,*" &c.;—At page 16, " It was " well at that eventful moment *that a Pitt was lord* " *of the ascendant;*"—At page 17, " He (Mr. Can- " ning) condescended to join one (an administra- " tion) which *Pitt, in his wisdom, directed upon* " *old-fashioned English principles.*" " *Shade of* " *Pitt, O that thou couldst arise!*" &c. Again, at page 29, exclaims this lucid and consistent writer, who—

" With just enough of learning to misquote,"

a few lines below bursts forth afresh with " O " nimium felices sua si bona norint." Any school-boy will set him right.—Lastly, not to multiply instances at pages 61 and 62, he says: " For a time " the voice of faction, and intrigue, and political " corruption may prevail, but we well know that " the man in whom the majority of people in this " free *Protestant* country place the greatest, nay, " the only real confidence, is Peel. Peel is the " statesman whose character, like Lord Liverpool's, " has by its uniform consistency, commanded the " respect, and thereby insured the confidence of

" his fellow-countrymen—to him, *who is a true* " *Pittite!!!!*" &c. &c. &c:

These passages are sufficient to show that the author is an ardent admirer of Mr. Pitt, and a censurer of Mr. Canning, in proportion as his principles differ from those of Mr. Pitt. Be it remembered, that the charge against Mr. Canning which we are now considering is, that he is a friend to Catholic Emancipation; or, as this writer expresses it, not " a devoted champion of the Pro- " testant church." Let us now examine what claim Mr. Pitt had to that title, which, according to our author, next we suppose to being the Earl of Liverpool, ought to be one of the main ingredients in the character of an English Prime Minister. As one argument is worth a thousand flourishes, so we hold is one fact worth a thousand arguments. We shall deal with facts, and shall also refer to our authority.

In the Annual Register for the year 1801, page 119, will be found as follows:

" Mr. Pitt determined to resign his office of first " Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Ex- " chequer; and gave out that his inability to propose " his Catholic regulations, as a minister, was the " sole cause of his resignation. A paper circulated

"in his name throughout Ireland; and which he "did not, *when called upon in the House of Com-* "*mons,' disavow,* contained this remarkable pas- "sage: 'The Catholic body will prudently consi- "'der their prospects as arising *from the persons* "'*who now espouse their interests,* and compare "'them with those which they could look to *from* "'*any other quarter.* They may, *with confidence,* "'*rely on the zealous support of all those who re-* "'*tire,* and of many who remain in office, when it "'can be given with a prospect of success; they "'may be assured that *Mr. Pitt will do his utmost* "'*to establish their cause in the public favour,*' "'(though he could not concur in a *hopeless* attempt "'to force it now,) and prepare the way for their "'*finally attaining their objects.*'"

Comment would be here superfluous; and, moreover, we do not wish to bear hard upon an adversary who is so perfectly at our mercy. The fact that Mr. Pitt, instead of being "a devoted "champion of the Protestant church," according to the obvious meaning which the author attaches to that phrase, was himself favourable to *the Catholic Claims,* and went out of office in 1801 on *his failing to procure Catholic Emancipation,* with which he had identified himself in order to procure the

union with Ireland, is matter of history, and reduces our author to this dilemma—either to retract all he has said in praise of Mr. Pitt; to retract the opinions that his was the master-mind; that he directed upon old fashioned-English principles; that it was well at an eventful crisis that a Pitt was lord of the ascendant; that Mr. Peel is the man to whom this country looks to be Prime Minister, because he is a true Pittite, &c. &c.; or to retract the other opinion, "that opposition to the "Catholic Claims ought to be a main ingredient in "the character of an English Prime Minister." Of these two alternatives he may, at his leisure, adopt whichever he thinks fit, and we freely give him his choice between them.

So much for the reasoning of the Protestant Tory on this branch of his subject, and so much for his consistency. For this latter virtue indeed, so indispensable in his eyes to the character of others, he seems to have a very generous contempt in his own proper person.

But setting Mr. Pitt aside for the present, we would ask on what ground it is asserted, that opposition to the Catholic Claims ought to be a main ingredient in the character of an English Prime Minister? Does the author produce this as a self-

evident proposition? or does he only mean, that it must be true because he and his party think so? They oppose the Catholics, it is true, and think that the Prime Minister should be a devoted champion of the Protestant Establishment. We, on the contrary, are favourable to the claims of that religious sect; and are so far from thinking such a combination necessary, that we should regret to see it; besides being of opinion, that the venerable establishment in question does not require any champion at all.

The office of a champion is to assert rights or avenge injuries; but in this case we do not perceive any rights invaded or any injuries threatened, which may not, with perfect security, be confided for redress to the vigilance of the bishops, those uncompromising guardians of the church. We require, indeed, that the Protestant constitution should be upheld in all its vigor and purity; but we maintain, that the admission of a few Catholics to a share of political power would, by strengthening and uniting the sinews of the state, promote and not obstruct that desirable object. These opinions we hold in common with a large portion, if not a majority, of the educated and enlightened classes of this great community; and yet we do not dogmatically declare,

that a favourable disposition to the Catholic claims ought to be a main ingredient in the character of an English Prime Minister; although, no doubt, we think it desirable that it should be so. This leading principle of the Protestant Tory is therefore, in fact, no principle at all; but an open and disputed point, incapable of proof, on which ten persons out of twenty think one way and ten the other, as is clearly shown by the late decision in the House of Commons. What are objections to Mr. Canning in the mind of the author are recommendations to us; to lay down, therefore, as a self-evident proposition, what is in truth nothing more than mere matter of opinion, and on which, moreover, opinions are pretty equally balanced, is a fair specimen of the logical arrangement which pervades his work.

But he does not stop here. Not only is Mr. Canning unfit for the situation of Prime Minister, because by favouring the claims of the Catholics, he has swerved from the principles of Mr. Pitt, who, it now turns out, did the same; not only is unworthy of public confidence, because he is not a devoted champion of the Protestant church, but even as an advocate of Emancipation is he blamed

for the unbecoming, incompetent, and blundering manner in which he has conducted that cause.

How true is it, that by attempting to prove too much, we prove nothing. The zeal of this Tory has eaten him up. Who ever heard of a general, a disputant, an advocate, even a pugilist, any man, in short, contending for a prize, who complained of the blunders of his adversary, when by those very blunders he himself was the gainer? When victory is on their side, men are usually enough contented with the substance, to leave the shadow for others. Though all the most violent political opponents of Mr. Canning have united with his friends in according to him the well-deserved praise of talent, integrity, and consistency in advocating this question, none of that commendation so irresistibly strikes on our minds with the force of sincerity, as that which is conveyed by the unmeasured hostility of this writer. Crushed by the force of arguments which he does not attempt to answer, galled by satire from which he vainly endeavours to escape, he calls in his distress on every tutelary saint, both ancient and modern, to aid him in this disaster. From Dr. Philpotts and Sir John Copley he passes to the Athanasian Creed, the Visitation of

the Sick, and the London University, and after a variety of conscientious interrogatories and constitutional appeals, concludes by uniting, in the same sentence, the glorious constitutional fabric of the church, the Israelites of old, and Nero fiddling at the burning of Rome: in the same page he assures us, that he now sets aside the question of the church, which in the next sentence but one he resumes, and continues with little intermission to the end of the chapter.

It is our wish to deal with this gentleman more tenderly than he is disposed to deal with Mr. Canning; but we do not hesitate to assure him, that to use his own figure, neither Achilles in petticoats, nor Mr. Canning in the gown of a doctor of divinity, or, we might add, any thing else in nature, could make half so ridiculous a figure as does the author of "The Grand Vizier Unmasked," from page 6 to page 13 of his pamphlet.

In the eighth page we were somewhat startled to find, that a statesman need not, after all, be a divine; but before we had recovered from our astonishment at this admission, having read to the end of the sentence, we perceived that the author had changed his mind again, and resolved that he must be one at all events; and, moreover, one of

no ordinary attainments. "He should be able," says he, "to distinguish *clearly between scripture "truths and papal heresies.*" What, we would ask him, does he think has agitated the Christian world for so many centuries, and divided the Protestant and Catholic churches, except this very question? "What are scripture truths, and what are papal heresies?" It is the main-spring of the dispute between the two churches—it is the alpha and omega of those innumerable theological differences which all the learning of all the doctors has not yet decided; and yet this is the moderate degree of knowledge which, according to the Protestant Tory, a statesman who need be no divine should have at his fingers' ends!!!

But of all Mr. Canning's errors, his wit and ridicule appear to be the most unpardonable in the eyes of this writer. No wonder: none so much dislike jokes as those who cannot make them; and one perusal of the pamphlet before us is sufficiently convincing that the author was never very likely to be guilty of that offence, although he does, at page 46, deprecate his own pleasantry, which was the first intimation we received that he had intended to be pleasant before.

It is difficult to be serious in treating this class

of his objections; the soreness occasioned to him by Mr. Canning's ridicule is so natural, and the cause of it so apparent, as to deserve nothing more than a smile. "A man, who employs rail-"lery on serious subjects, cannot be a good church-"man;" that is his position. As well might he have said, a dexterous archer cannot be a church-warden. He may or he may not; and to our simple apprehension there is about as much connexion between the conclusion and the premises in one case as the other.

Raillery was the weapon used most formidably and most frequently by Massillon, and many other French divines, most conspicuous for their eloquence and their piety. Our own history affords instances of a similar kind; and what is a remarkable fact, several of the most popular preachers of the present day, are noted for the extraordinary and happy effect which they produce by means of that powerful instrument,

How many instances are there of men and women, distinguished alike for rank, piety, and every virtue which can adorn human kind, exhibiting, even on the brink of eternity, as awful a situation, one would imagine, as to be advocating the Catholic cause in the House of Commons—a

gaiety of mind very rarely displayed on so serious an occasion; the annals of our own country afford well-known examples of this fact.

Does any man in his senses soberly believe, that because Sir Thomas More joked upon the scaffold, or because Mr. Canning jokes in the House of Commons in discussing the Catholic Question, that either of those distinguished individuals deserves on that account the imputation of having proved himself an unsound churchman? We surrender the whole benefit to be derived from More's creed.

What, then, do these examples prove? Not that men who act thus are less sincere in their opinions than others—not that they are less devoted to their faith—but, simply, that being endowed with a more fertile imagination and a more playful fancy, they are not confined by those trammels which bind persons of ordinary genius, but are enabled to enliven the most trying moments, or to illustrate the most ungrateful subjects by the light of their wit.

Thus have we disposed of the first charge brought against Mr. Canning, viz. Catholic Advocacy.

The desultory manner in which that charge has

been made, spread as it is over the whole pamphlet, has made it difficult for us to reduce it to an intelligible form; to the best of our ability, however, we have done so; and will now recapitulate the three heads under which the accusations have appeared to us most readily to range themselves, and the substance of our reply to each.

First. That Mr. Canning is unfit for the situation of Premier, because he has swerved from the principles of Mr. Pitt, and is not a devoted champion of the Protestant Church, or in other words, an enemy to Catholic Emancipation; Mr. Pitt being, according to the author, the perfection of an English Prime Minister.

In reply, we have stated, that Mr. Pitt himself having been favourable to the Catholic Claims, and having gone out of office in 1801 *because he failed to procure Catholic Emancipation,* the author is reduced to the dilemma of either unsaying all he has said in praise of Mr. Pitt, or retracting the opinion that the Prime Minister of this country ought to be an enemy to Catholic Emancipation.

Secondly. That setting the authority of Mr. Pitt aside, opposition to the Catholic Claims ought to be a main ingredient in the character of an English Prime Minister.

We have shown that this, so far from being a general rule dogmatically to be laid down, is a point on which the country has long been, and is now divided, and that opinions are pretty equally balanced on both sides; that as a leading principle, to be addressed to the nation at large, it is therefore palpably absurd, although by the party of the Protestant Tory it will no doubt be adopted.

Thirdly. That the manner in which Mr. Canning has advocated the Catholic cause is incompetent and unbecoming.

Our answer is, that the charge of incompetence coming from an adversary is the greatest praise he can bestow; and that wit and raillery have, in all times been, and constantly are, applied to the most serious subjects, and used on the most solemn occasions by sound and good churchmen, eminent for their piety and learning.

We now pass on to the second charge brought against Mr. Canning, viz. his Political Inconsistency.

POLITICAL INCONSISTENCY.

We have always understood that a judgment of the political principles of men is to be dated from their first appearance in public life. Whatever may have been the prepossession of their early

days; from whomsoever they may have received "their first political lessons;" or to whomsoever they may have "unbosomed themselves" in private, candour and justice will estimate their actions by what they *do* when once they have stepped upon the stage.

Deeds, not words — facts, not rumours, will guide the decision of impartial observers. Our opponent labours to insinuate that Mr. Canning set out as a Whig; unfortunately for him, however, he set out as a Tory, and, as the author himself acknowledges, "made his debut in the House of "Commons in January 1794, as a partizan of Mr. "Pitt." "The Whigs," says he, "he loved, but "the Tories he loved still better." Does he mean this as censure? For our part, we are happy to believe it true; we do believe it to be true, and greater praise to one whose mind inclines to Tory principles, we never heard. Would that the same could be said of every Tory, and vice versâ, of every Whig! Would that those names could be wiped out, and obliterated altogether! that the absurd and worn out prejudices which seek still to mark those parties as distinct and irreconcileable factions, would at length give way to a better feeling. Well did Sir Francis Burdett ob-

serve in the House, not long since, that he was neither one nor the other; and when this writer, quoting from Mr. Moore, charges Mr. Canning with "bidding fair to change the nature of Toryism "altogether," we do not believe that he could have bestowed upon him a more sound and honourable praise. Mr. Canning therefore, friendly to the Tories, and friendly to the Whigs also, that is, guided by measures and not men, by things and not nick-names, joined Mr. Pitt's administration in 1794. Possibly he did not agree with all the measures of his colleagues, as Lord Eldon, the Duke of Wellington, and Mr. Peel, for so many years did not with theirs; perhaps he might have wished to associate with him in the cabinet some gentlemen from the other side of the House: we do not know that it was so, but this we know, that coinciding as he did with the main and leading principles of Mr. Pitt's policy, he was perfectly justified, as a man of honourable ambition and spotless integrity, to apply his great talents to the service of the state.

But we perfectly understand, and will now endeavour to explain the indignation which this conduct of Mr. Canning has excited in the mind of our author.

In the days of our forefathers two great political parties divided the state, one was called the Whigs, the other the Tories; their principles were diametrically opposed to each other; the gradual reform and religious toleration of the former, were met by the high-church notions and "wisdom of our "ancestors" of the latter; they were like two hostile armies drawn up in battle array, deaf to reason or compromise, and knowing no decision but the sword; so clearly was the line of demarcation drawn between them, that no doubt could exist of their separate possessions or respective partizans; and none dared appear on the great theatre of political warfare, except in the uniform of one or the other of these two belligerent powers. Jealousy, distrust, and uncomprising enmity to the opposite faction, were instilled into the minds of the rising generation with the same fervor of sincerity, and the same honesty of purpose, as are said to have actuated Lord Nelson in his instructions to a young midshipman;—when explaining the rudiments of his profession, he charged him, above all things, to hate a Frenchman as he did the devil.

Such were the feelings of the Whigs and Tories towards each other in days of yore. But time, which mitigates all things, gradually abated the rivalry of

these hostile clans; their onsets became less furious and less frequent, and an armistice was at length tacitly agreed upon between them; the line of separation then by degrees wore away, and, as the violence of faction yielded to a calmer judgment, men began to inquire what the indissoluble bond of union was which cemented their respective parties so closely together, and what the hopeless cause of discord which separated each so far from the other; it was soon discovered that no such bond, and no such cause existed. The principles of each side, when they came to be temperately considered, exhibited not only many shades of distinction in themselves, but even broad lines of difference, and the opinions of the more moderate on both, were found to approximate pretty nearly to each other. When this light broke upon the minds of the combatants they determined no longer to keep the field; silently, therefore, they disbanded their armies, and returned to the more peaceful occupations of civil life, where, mingling in the arena of the senate-house, they insensibly forgot their former animosities, and have, of late years, retained little more than the names which distinguished them in the hour of their strife. Still, as might be expected, there were a few who inherited the animosities of their ancestors, and in the

author of "The Grand Vizier Unmasked" we recognize a true disciple of that warlike school. With him, a man who is not a Whig, must be a Tory; and he who sees some good on both sides, is worse than either—a shuffler, a plebeian, a statesman of fortune, a political adventurer.

We trust we have now satisfactorily explained the cause of the violent hostility of this writer towards Mr. Canning, for having ventured to think, that even amongst the Whigs all was not evil. The fact that he thought so from his first entrance into public life we willingly admit, and a fact more honourable to him, save his now acting on that opinion, we would not desire to record. So conclusive, however, of inconsistency is this circumstance with our author, that he fondly imagines he has settled that point in the short space of four pages, by the mere detail of the fact. Let any one read from page 12, beginning at "Is he, we pro-" ceed to ask, a consistent statesman?" down to page 17, where the author triumphantly exclaims, "Such, be it known to the people of this country, "is Mr. Canning's political consistency," and say whether the whole of the charge does not rest on this, that he is neither a violent Tory nor a violent Whig.

The truth is, that this Protestant Tory, like some others whom we could mention, is flourishing in the wrong century; some hundred years back, when the armies were in the field, he would doubtless have met the due reward of his merit. His sincerity is of course beyond suspicion; his zeal no man can doubt, and we really believe, that in those days he might have figured as generalissimo of the Tory forces; we can only hope, that in the enjoyment of that dignity, he would have wielded the sword with rather more skill than he now does the pen. It might be supposed, that after the above-mentioned "Io triumphe"—"Such, be it known to the "people of this country, is Mr. Canning's political "consistency!!!" the author, having decided the matter so entirely to his own satisfaction, would either have rested from his labours to enjoy the sweets of victory, or at least would have entered upon a new subject, and set forth some fresh cause of grievance. But such is not his mode of writing pamphlets; having, as he intimates, proved his point beyond contradiction, he sturdily proceeds to prove it again, and starts once more with the subject which he had just wound up; for his conclusions are not at all symptomatic of the end.

Before, however, he sets out on this second

crusade in quest of an object, which just before he assured us that he had already attained, the old stumbling-block of offence meets him at the threshold, and the legends of the Whigs and Tories are again unravelled. How much good writing would this gentleman have spared himself and the public, if he had explained in one short sentence, as he might easily have done, the sum of his reasons for imputing political inconsistency to Mr. Canning. If he had employed a man to walk up and down Piccadilly with a placard on his back, and these words in flaming capitals: "Hear, O Israel; Mr. Canning is neither a Whig nor a Tory," we will venture to tell him, that all the knowledge contained in his pamphlet of sixty-five pages would have been gained, and much more generally diffused.

Whig or no Whig, Tory or no Tory, being the chorus of every verse, the same answer is in fact applicable to each part of the charge of inconsistency; the whole of it being neither more nor less than what we have already stated it, viz. that Mr. Canning is not an uncompromising partizan of either of those antiquated factions. For the sake of perspicuity, however, we will take another branch of the accusation apart, and endeavour

very shortly to answer it by itself—we allude to that part which regards the system of free trade.

And here we beg leave to say, that the task which we have undertaken, is simply to answer the pamphlet before us. Where the author contents himself, as he generally does, with a mere assertion, sometimes conveyed in an affirmative, sometimes in an interrogatory shape, we shall adopt a similar line of moderation, and where our opinion differs from his, shall meet it by an assertion the other way. Not that we are unprepared to do what he has not done, viz. to discuss the expediency of Mr. Canning's policy on the free trade system, and those other questions which our author has connected with it; but that we consider it no part of our duty at present to do more than repel the imputations which he has brought forward, and to measure our defence by the limits of his accusation. Applying ourselves, therefore, to those interrogatories which are put forth with no small pomp and circumstance, we shall take them in the order in which they stand.

With regard, then, to the first, we distinctly deny that Mr. Canning ever recognized the principle of Negro Emancipation, except in conjunction with what every man of sound and liberal

principles must consider a fair and adequate compensation, and we challenge the accuser to the proof.

Secondly. We hesitate not to declare our firm conviction, that the principles of political economy which Mr. Canning has adopted, (with a caution indeed by no means keeping pace with the zeal of the economists) and practically applied, redound most highly to his fame as a statesman, and will, in their operation, confer incalculable benefits upon this country.

Thirdly. Denying in toto the whole doctrine of the tampering with the currency, and the over-issues of the Bank, we refer the evils complained of to other causes, over which the Ministry had no controul.

"Now let us ask," says our author, at page 28, "how all this tends to prove the consistency "of Mr. Canning?"

"Now let us ask," we say in our turn, "how "any part of it tends to prove his inconsistency?"

And, first, we will endeavour to define (although we suspect that definitions are not much to the taste of this gentleman) what are his ideas of consistency; after which, we will explain our own. According to him, consistency in a public

man is, the steady pursuit of a line of politics marked out in early life, and never deviated from, whatever new lights may arise, or however circumstances may alter.—According to us, consistency in a public man is in like manner the steady pursuit of a line of politics marked out from the first, but subject to such modifications as the progress of science, or the alterations of circumstances, may render expedient.

For this reason we do not join in the popular clamour which ascribes inconsistency to Mr. Pitt, because setting out as a strenuous supporter of reform in Parliament, he afterwards, when in power, opposed that measure; since we hold every man justified in varying his opinions according to the varying form of time and circumstance.

But our author's notions of Mr. Canning's consistency admit of a very short definition: he is consistent, as long as he follows the footsteps of Mr. Pitt, and inconsistent when he deviates from them; and a quotation is introduced from a speech made by Mr. Canning at Liverpool in 1812, in order to prove that he stands pledged to the line of conduct which the Protestant Tory approves. The passage runs thus: "He inherited Mr. Pitt's prin-
"ciples, and would always adhere to his opinions

"as the guides of his own public conduct." The author then proceeds, as might be expected, to say, that this pledge has not been redeemed, but that the gradual violation of those opinions have marked Mr. Canning's career. This assertion however, he does not, as his mode is, produce any evidence to prove. We have no opinions of Mr. Pitt on any subject, quoted on the one hand, or the conflicting ones of Mr. Canning on the other; and must therefore make shift to form as shrewd a judgment on the point before us as we can, from the materials which we have in hand. They undoubtedly instruct us that such a notion does haunt the imagination of a certain respectable Protestant Tory, but all beyond that is veiled in doubt and obscurity.

Granting, however, that Mr. Canning was bound by his professions (cæteris paribus) to pursue the policy of Mr. Pitt, how was he to act when new circumstances arose, such as never fell within the circle of Mr. Pitt's experience? Was he to call upon Protestant Tories to aid him in guessing how Mr. Pitt would have acted in such cases? or was he to regulate his actions by the resources of his own mind?

But we feel that our readers, like ourselves, must be weary of this idle talk. Blindly to pursue at

this day a line of policy, marked out more than twenty years ago, is to reject the benefits of experience, and wilfully to remain stationary when all the world is advancing around us. Mr. Pitt, at one time, advocated reform; at another, he opposed it;—had he lived till now, he might possibly have advocated it again, and we, for our part, should have seen no inconsistency in such conduct, if, again, the varying circumstances of this country had, in his opinion, corresponded with his varying line of policy. If, therefore, Mr. Canning, professing to take the principles of Mr. Pitt as his guide, advocates measures now which Mr. Pitt in his day opposed, why is inconsistency to be imputed to him, more than would have been imputed to Mr. Pitt himself under similar circumstances, or than was imputed to him under similar circumstances during his life? Wisely therefore, as eloquently, does Mr. Canning declare of his great master: "That "in his brightness he admires him, but ceases to "adore him when he suffers an eclipse." Did he do otherwise, he would indeed be an unworthy pupil of that illustrious statesman; for then he would be planted by the side of the high-road of science and improvement which others are pursuing, and hand in hand with the Protestant Tory,

would close over the wisdom of our ancestors, instead of benefiting by our own.

Thus we conclude the second part of our inquiry, viz. the political inconsistency of Mr. Canning; and thus we sum it up.

We have divided the charge into two heads:—

First. That Mr. Canning joined a Tory administration, although he was imbued with Whig principles.

We have argued, that those rival factions, once so hostile to each other, are now, in the eyes of the nation and of common sense, obsolete; that little but the names remain; that the opinions of the more moderate and liberal on each side nearly approximate; and that Mr. Canning, by associating with himself some of each party, has acted consistently with his own honour and the interests of the country, by proving that he is guided by principle, and not by party.

Secondly. That Mr. Canning has swerved from the principles of Mr. Pitt, which he professed to take as his guide, by advocating the system of free trade, and other measures, in opposition to Mr. Pitt's policy.

We have stated, in reply, that to pursue implicitly a course of state government marked out

twenty years ago, is to reject the advantages of experience, and is alike contrary to the clearest dictates of reason and sound policy; and that Mr. Pitt himself, by advocating Reform at one time and opposing it at another, evinced his sense of the necessity of being guided by circumstances.

We now proceed to offer a few

GENERAL REMARKS.

In making the following general observations we shall once more turn over the leaves of the pamphlet before us, commenting upon such passages as appear to us deserving of notice, and which do not fall under either of the two heads already disposed of. And here we cannot avoid complimenting our author upon the consistency, at least, which he has shown in the compilation of his work; one more uniform in all its parts we never remember to have perused. He does not confound us with passages of dazzling brilliancy suddenly starting out from pages of ordinary merit, nor does he offend our taste by an unseemly jumble of the mean with the magnificent—no such thing; the same style (we had almost said of monotonous excellence) pervades the whole, the same clearness of

ideas, the same candour. He has shown himself throughout a true English architect, who rejects, with becoming spirit, the meretricious ornaments of the ancient school; no Ionic, no Corinthian, no composite orders for him; the plain British order of lath and plaster is far more congenial to his sound constitutional principles. Of such materials, perishable indeed, but still uniform, he has built up the fabric, which in all its naked simplicity is now before us; and we must acknowledge, that the portico is in strict keeping with the temple.

He sets out with a violent attack upon the press. "That the voice of truth," saith he, "has been "suppressed in this free country at the moment "when it ought to have sounded loudest, is un- "equivocally confirmed by the present state of the "public press. Not a paper does aught but re- "echo the praises of him whose *creature it has* "*become*, and the base adulation of those who "bow the knee to Baal, is only equalled by their "abuse of the high-minded and disinterested "statesmen, who refuse to sanction a faith which "they disbelieve, and to burn incense upon an "altar which they abominate."

Accordingly, in this deplorable state of affairs, the Protestant Tory, with a laudable devotion to

the cause of truth, steps forward to wipe away the delusion from the public mind, to chastise the delinquent press, and, by means of his little pamphlet, to set every thing once more to rights.

It is needless to say, that we should have passed without notice this most idle imputation of venality to the press, even if Lord Goodriche had not, in his place in Parliament, extinguished, in two sentences, the silly clamour; or even if the author had not, in the next page to the one in which he makes the charge, himself furnished an ample refutation of it. We should have silently treated it as the harmless effusion of an exasperated gentleman, whose reason was obscured by anger, and who was rendered desperate by disappointment and defeat. As, however, he has himself afforded the materials for his own prostration, we will point them out to the notice of our readers.

His object is to stigmatize Mr. Canning, and in his struggles to do so in the most effectual mode, he falls foul of the press. At that name his indignation is diverted into another channel, and it is amusing to see by what conflicting passion he is agitated at this period of his labours; he cannot decide whether Mr. Canning or the press is to be most abused, but being in that respect liberally in-

clined towards both parties, he bestows his invectives with such indiscriminate profusion, that unfortunately they contradict each other; and whilst the objects of his ire escape unhurt, the shafts recoil on the hand which sent them.

The see-saw, first "Canning," then "the press," will be found to run thus:—

MR. CANNING.

What wonder that Mr. Canning should be popular, when he is supported by a press so all-powerful as to be able "to suppress the voice of "truth in this free country."

THE PRESS.

The press indeed!!! "the bitterest enemy of "Mr. Canning could not wish for more, than to "see him surrounded, *as he now is, by venal* "*newsmongers and parasitical adherents* . . . ."

"How weak must be a cause which requires "*contemptible auxiliaries!*"

Alas! for the press!!! that engine all-powerful, as we had supposed, and as our author likewise supposed at the second page, though he changes his mind at the third, turns out after all to be a feeble instrument, quite a "contemptible auxiliary."

We think that the generous nature of the Protestant Tory must have recoiled within him ere he overwhelmed so unresisting a foe. Did he feel no qualms of conscience, no compunctious visitings when, with uplifted foot, he stood about to crush the little trembler? But it is no matter! regret would now come too late—the blow has been struck—the authority of newspapers is at an end, and the light of truth henceforth is to be shed over the country from the pamphlets of Protestant Tories.

We cannot pass unnoticed the seven consecutive questions on the subject of Portugal. The burden of them is, that the Portuguese did not want a constitution; that if they did, we had no right to give them one; that if we had, we ought not to have sent soldiers to support it; and that if we ought, Mr. Canning should not have made such a speech as he did on that occasion.

We could have given a pretty shrewd guess at the author's opinion on this subject, although he had not said one word about it. High Tories are usually much more curious to uphold kingly governments, than to promote the blessings of free constitutions; and no discord is so hateful in their ears, as the impassioned bursts of honest eloquence which breathe the voice of freedom.

A more splendid effort to accomplish a noble object than the speech of Mr. Canning on that memorable occasion, the annals of no time or country afford; but, although, as a masterpiece of brilliant oratory it electrified the House, and must have been listened to with delight by all who heard it, yet do we believe that in its political effect it was much more worthy of admiration. As a consummate stroke of policy we look upon it as quite unrivalled; we are firmly of opinion, that that speech alone prevented the immediate interference of France with the affairs of Spain and Portugal; that it arrested all Europe who were about to fall upon the Peninsula; and that none dared to face its thunders.

Men who can do such things are statesmen. Such are the men formed to wield the destinies of great empires; not those who please Protestant Tories, and can do no more than give simple explanations; but those who can fulminate—who in the cabinet can call new nations into existence, and shed the light of liberty over distant realms; who, in the senate, can rouse or still kingdoms with their voice! Is our author angry that a speech does the work of an army? that millions are averted by a word?

But we hasten to lay aside our pen, already employed too long in this service. The uncalled-for and unjustifiable insinuations thrown out against Lord Lansdowne, "that he will probably soon be "induced to share in the Treasury plunder;" . . . . . "that he vows, and protests, and pities the "poor Catholics, whom he would be too happy to "serve if he could by the sacrifice of every thing "except place," we pass by in silence; nor shall even pause to condole with Lord Harrowby on being "a fallen angel." It must be consolatory to his Lordship, at least, to find, that notwithstanding his fall, he is still "an angel of light."

And here we conclude our task, having no counter-rhapsody at hand at all worthy of being placed in opposition to that which occupies the last fifteen pages of our author's work. Yet would we fain give him, in all humility, a word or two of advice ere we part. He has now established his reputation as a pamphleteer, and we suppose has it in view to burst upon the town, ere long, in some new capacity. If he has not yet decided in what character to appear, we beg respectfully to recommend that of a minstrel: his figures of "Peel, "Eldon, and Wellington, revolving round the "Sun;" "of high-bred noblemen, vicars of Bray,

"and wise men of the East, uniting to adore the "same idol;" and many others, seem to us not only highly poetical, but eminently adapted to music, and would, we think, if well arranged, prove a valuable acquisition to our stock of popular ballads. As reciters of poetry, we do not pretend to put ourselves in competition with him; but when we came to that passage in which he likens Mr. Canning to the rising sun, we were struck with the following lines, which we thought, as a motto for his pamphlet, would not have been unappropriate:—

"Oh thou, that with surpassing glory crowned,
Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God
Of this new world, at whose sight all the stars
Hide their diminished heads;—to thee I call,
But with no friendly voice—and add thy name,
Oh Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
Which call to my remembrance from what state
I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere
Till pride and worse ambition threw me down."

Peace and prosperity to our author!

If the grey goose-quill is still his delight, we hope he will employ it to his heart's content. We can with truth assure him, that from us at least he need fear no farther castigation; we have other occupations more worthy of our attention, than to

reply to the frantic effusions of party petulance, which can excite no feeling but those of mirth or pity.

That ignorance and bigotry have at length shrunk before the progress of improvement, we most unfeignedly rejoice. By the side of the enlightened and truly patriotic spirits of the age we take our stand. With them we will strive to uphold our glorious Constitution; with them we venerate our King, confide in the Minister of his choice, and laugh at the Protestant Tory.

THE END.

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SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HON. ROBERT PEEL,

ON HIS RETIRING FROM OFFICE,

DELIVERED IN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

ON THE RE-ASSEMBLING OF PARLIAMENT.

MAY 1st, 1827.

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SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HON. ROBERT PEEL.

SIR,

As the Motion that has just been made is most immediately connected with the accession of a Right Honourable Gentleman to an office which I recently held, I trust the House will not think I am preferring an unreasonable request if I intreat them to allow me to offer some explanation as to the grounds on which I thought myself compelled to retire from the service of his Majesty. I know very well how much of personal matter must

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necessarily be mixed up with an explanation of this kind; but as I have so frequently, under other circumstances, experienced the kind consideration and indulgence of the House, I should be much disappointed if I should be deceived in the expectation that they will continue that indulgence, and will allow me to take this opportunity of fully explaining the reasons of my conduct. In that expectation I have abstained from resorting to any other mode of making public the motives which have influenced me in the course I have adopted.

It is now about three weeks since I virtually resigned the seals of the office of Secretary of State for the Home Department. During that interval, my silence may have subjected me to doubtful, and even mischievous constructions; but I have waited patiently till this moment, supported by the consciousness of having acted solely upon public grounds, and of

having only taken that course which was consistent with my duty, and with what was due to my own character.

The explanation which I wish to offer is due not only to myself individually, but to the character of the class to which I belong—I mean the class of public men; and during the delay that has taken place, I have been supported by the hope, that at this moment, and in this place, an opportunity would be afforded me; and I felt the strongest confidence that the House would allow me to take advantage of this opportunity to make it.

Under the delay which has taken place, I have been supported by the hope, too, that I should be able to vindicate myself from the unfavourable constructions that might have been put upon my conduct in consequence of my silence, and to show that the course which I had pursued was that which the necessity of my situation absolutely required. I say, Sir, vindicate

the course I have pursued; because I do avow, that I think public men, who are embarked in the public service, have no right, upon light and insufficient grounds, to sever their connexion with the State, and to disembark from that service into which they have entered.

If, Sir, I had acted in consequence of levity, of disappointed ambition, of personal pique, or opposition towards a rival, I should feel that I was, though not constitutionally, yet morally responsible; and that I should have shown by such conduct I was unworthy of the confidence with which my Sovereign had honoured me. But, Sir, I acted from none of those motives: they did not form the grounds on which I retired from the public service. I acted solely upon principles which I had frequently professed, and which I considered to form part of my public character.

For a space of eighteen years I have

pursued one undeviating course of conduct, offering, during the whole of that time, an uncompromising, but a temperate, a fair, and, as I believe, a constitutional resistance to the making of any further concessions to the Roman Catholics. During fourteen out of those eighteen years, I have held office; and during eleven of those years I have been closely connected in office with that country most interested in the decision of those claims. The opinions which I held during that time I still retain; and I thought, from having always avowed those opinions, but, above all, from having, while in office, taken an active, and I may, perhaps, say, important part against the claims of the Catholics, that I could not remain in office after events had rendered it probable that I should be the single Minister of the Crown who was likely to continue opposed to them.

I say, Sir, under these circumstances I

did not feel that it would be consistent with the career I had hitherto pursued, and with the maintenance of my own character as a public man, to acquiesce in arrangements which would benefit myself by enabling me to retain office, which, however, I could not do without acting in a manner calculated materially to promote the successful termination of a question to which, under other circumstances, and in other aspects of political affairs, I had offered the most decided resistance. Under these circumstances, and with respect to the nature of the opposition which I had always offered to the proposed concessions to the Roman Cátholics, I felt myself bound to act as I have done.

Sir, the nature of that opposition was such as to allow of no middle course; it was founded upon the belief which I have always sincerely entertained, that the removal of those barriers, which the law

opposed to the attainment of political power by the Roman Catholics, was inconsistent with the maintenance of the Constitution, and with the welfare and safety of the Church.

These being the grounds on which I have always spoken and acted, I say, Sir, that I am now in the judgment of the House and of the country, whether I had not sufficient reason to decline acquiescing in arrangements which were calculated most decidedly to promote that object to which I had always been opposed.

The circumstances to which I have referred I considered seriously; and having done so, I made up my mind to retire from office, if my Right Honourable Friend, whose opinions on this subject were so decidedly opposed to my own, should be placed at the head of the Administration, where he could with more effect than ever support these opinions. If my own had been doubtful, my duty

might not have required my resignation; but they were not, and my rigid sense of public duty has determined my course.

If even the Administration could have remained in the same state as before—if it could have continued exactly neutral upon this question, I might have continued in office; but when I saw that exact neutrality could not be expected—when I found that the Duke of York was no more, and that the voice of the Earl of Liverpool had become silent, I thought I had a right to act, and, indeed, that I ought to act upon the conviction of my own mind, and not subject myself to suspicions by seeming to have been converted to opposite opinions, especially when the period of that apparent conversion would have concurred precisely with that of the change of Administration. I therefore determined to sacrifice office, rather than abandon that course which I had previously pursued for so long a time,

and which I had continued while in possession of the office which I lately held.

The next question upon which I wish to say a few words is, whether the appointment of my Right Honourable Friend to be at the head of the Administration, and to occupy that place which was recently filled by the Earl of Liverpool, would not almost necessarily bring along with it the final success of the Catholic Question.

It is due to my Right Honourable Friend to say, and I give him full credit for it,—that I believe him to be actuated by the utmost honesty, sincerity, and zeal, in his efforts for the promotion of the success of that question. I judge him in the same manner as I wish to be judged myself—by the uniform course he has pursued, by the public declarations he has so frequently made, and by the earnestness he has always manifested on this subject. I am perfectly satisfied, I say,

with his honesty, sincerity, and zeal; and I declare that it will be as much his duty, as I believe it always was his intention, if he should be placed at the head of the Administration, to promote, by every fair means, if not the immediate, at least the ultimate success of the Catholic Question.

Feeling so, I thought it was my duty to retire: I thought so not merely because my Right Honourable Friend differed from myself in opinion upon the merits of the Catholic Question, but because the change consequent upon his appointment was such, that there could not be any thing less than a complete transfer of all the influence and power which belong (and I think properly belong) to the office of Prime Minister, from the opponents to the advocates of concessions to the Catholics. That transfer, Sir, was not a transfer of influence and power from one ordinary man to another ordinary man, but from the

most powerful opponent of the Catholic Claims to their most powerful advocate. Under these circumstances, and with reference to that Question, I thought it would be impossible to conduct the Government upon those principles on which it had been carried on under the Earl of Liverpool; and the consequence was, that I prepared to act upon that resolution, which, from the delay that has taken place upon Lord Liverpool's illness, I had had a full opportunity of considering, and which I had maturely deliberated. I had marked throughout, the splendid career which my Right Honourable Friend had pursued with regard to the Catholic Question, and each hour of my deliberation confirmed the opinion I had formed, that he would employ the influence of his new office to promote the success of that question which he had always so warmly advocated. I found that from the very first period when the restrictions imposed by

the Regency Bill upon his present Majesty terminated, up to the month of March last, when the Honourable Baronet, the Member for Westminster, brought forward his Motion regarding the Catholics, he had pursued the same active and undeviating course in promotion of the Catholic Question, which I (though not with the same ability and power) pursued in opposition to it. In the year 1812, after Mr. Grattan had introduced his motion for the immediate consideration of the Roman Catholic claims, which motion was negatived, my Right Honourable Friend was not satisfied with that negative, but brought forward another motion to the same effect as Mr. Grattan's, alleging, as his reason for doing so, that circumstances had been changed, as the restrictions on the Regency had then expired. That motion went to pledge the House to take the state of the Catholics into immediate consideration on the com-

mencement of the next Session, and it was adopted by the House. Now, Sir, I ask, what is there to prevent my Right Honourable Friend, if he thought the course he then pursued was prudent and reasonable, and would be so at this moment, I say what is to prevent him from pursuing the same course in 1827, which he adopted in 1812? In that year Mr. Grattan's motion was negatived by a majority of 40, but my Right Honourable Friend, not at all dispirited by that defeat, introduced a motion to the same effect, but in a different shape, pledging the House to a consideration of the question in the following Session. One discussion has already taken place this Session upon this question, on the motion of the Honourable Member for Westminster; that motion has been negatived, but the circumstances being pretty nearly the same, I see no ground on which my Right Honourable Friend should feel himself de-

barred from now pursuing the same course which he adopted on the rejection of Mr. Grattan's motion. If I had continued in office, I could never have thought of proposing to my Right Honourable Friend that he should pledge himself not to adopt that course, though even if I had been by any chance induced to do so, I am sure, from the course he has always pursued, and from my conviction of the honesty and integrity of his conduct upon this question, he would at once have refused to give any such pledge. I say, therefore, that I was justified in accounting it at least possible, if not probable, that in this very Session, a motion might be introduced by my Right Honourable Friend upon the subject of the Catholic Claims, and that I might, in this Session or the next, be called on, as a Member of the Government, to acquiesce in a measure introduced by my Right Honourable Friend, which, when it was

introduced by the Honourable Member for Westminster, I had positively rejected. During the whole period from the year 1812 to the year 1827, my Right Honourable Friend has, on every occasion, preserved his consistency upon this point, and in the declaration of his opinions, in his professions, and in his acts, has uniformly given to the claims of the Catholics his most decided, powerful, and effectual support. Not only has he supported them when the question has been brought forward by others, but he has himself originated motions for conceding at least a portion of the claims demanded by the Roman Catholics; motions, however, that, though limited in the extent of their immediate operation, yet involved principles which, if he thought good for a part, he must, by necessary consequence, have considered good for the whole.

In the year 1822, my Right Honourable Friend introduced a motion for the admis-

sion of Roman Catholic Peers to seats in Parliament. That motion I felt it to be my duty to oppose. Now, I will suppose my Right Honourable Friend, invested with all the influence and power of the first situation in the Ministry, again to bring forward that motion at the present time, and I ask whether I could acquiesce in the possession of office, connected as that possession must be with an acquiescence in the admission of that which I have before opposed, and which would involve the decision of every principle that I have formerly supported? Could I afterwards stand up in the face of the country, and allow it to be said that I had acquiesced in permitting the first Minister of his Majesty to carry into effect, without opposition, that which I had always opposed when it was introduced by any other person?

Sir, I allude thus to what I think my Right Honourable Friend will do, not in

the way of complaint—not with the view of remonstrance—that he should employ the influence of the new dignity that he has acquired in the attainment of the object for which he has so long and so ably laboured; but because I thought it necessary to vindicate myself, and deemed it essential for the maintenance of my own character, that I should state the whole truth, and explain exactly the nature of those reasons which induced me to adopt the proceeding of retiring from office.

I say, Sir, what security have I that my Right Honourable Friend will not renew the motion which he brought forward in 1822, and which, if successful, would compel me to yield to a measure that I then opposed? His language upon that occasion was so strongly expressive of his opinions of the necessity of that measure, that I cannot avoid quoting it. He said at the conclusion of his speech—"I solemnly declare to the House, that I would not

have brought this question forward, had I not felt assured that the reparation which I ask on behalf of the Catholic Peers is in the name of policy as expedient as in the name of humanity it is charitable, and in the name of God, just." I say, Sir, if that be a true description of my Right Honourable Friend's opinion—if he now believes, as he then stated, that the claims of the Catholics are in policy expedient, in humanity charitable, and, above all, in the name of God, just—with my confidence in his sincerity, how could I doubt, that placed in the situation which he now fills, had I remained in office, I should have been called on, and that very shortly, to adopt the alternative of either acquiescing in a motion not now for the first time brought forward, or of opposing myself to the strength of the Government? and that acquiescence could not have been yielded by me without involving the whole of those principles which I have

hitherto endeavoured to maintain. Sir, that such a motion as that which I have supposed would involve the whole principle of the Catholic Question, I may assert upon the authority of my Right Honourable Friend himself, who said that he could not conclude his speech on that motion, without admitting that the partial success which he was then attempting to obtain for the Catholics, would, he hoped, ultimately lead to the attainment of the great object they had then in view. Now, Sir, it would not be my part to acquiesce in the attainment of such an object; and if I had remained in office, it would not have been in my power to prevent any, even partial concessions, which might be introduced into Parliament by the first Minister of the Crown—by that individual who is honoured with the chief confidence of his Sovereign, who is mainly responsible for the acts of the administration, and who is first in influence and authority in

the Cabinet. I could not, I say, have acquiesced in granting to the Catholics the whole of what they claim, nor in any partial concession of the nature to which I have alluded, attended, as it must have been, with such consequences as my Right Honourable Friend himself at that time predicted. I should therefore have held office only on sufferance, liable to be called on at the notice of a week to retire from the public service, and that, too, perhaps, at a time infinitely more inconvenient for the public than that at which I actually did resign the department that had been intrusted to me. Could I doubt —especially after the example set me by my Right Honourable Friend himself— the propriety of the course which, in my own opinion, circumstances had rendered necessary, always remembering the prominent line of conduct I had adopted upon the Catholic Question, and anticipating, as I say I had a right to do, what

would be the course that my Right Honourable Friend would pursue, if he should be placed at the head of the Administration?

I speak, Sir, of his example; because I think that I, at this day, am placed in circumstances very nearly similar to those in which he was placed in 1812, when he was asked to form part of an Administration which was to be neutral on this very question, every Member of it being at liberty to speak and to vote as it might seem best to him to do. When that proposition was made to my Right Honourable Friend, he stated that he could not give his consent to act as a single Minister upon a question in which all the weight, influence, and authority of the Prime Minister would be against him.

After that example, and after the opinion then expressed by the very Minister who now possesses the situation of Chief Adviser of the Crown, I say, Sir, that I

could not have retained office, and then have complained—if that speech had ever been quoted against me—for submitting to be the Secretary of the State for the Home Department, in an Administration in which I should have stood alone opposed to my Right Honourable Friend who was at its head.

The speech to which I have alluded was delivered by my Right Honourable Friend when Mr. Stuart Wortley, on the 21st of May, 1812, brought forward his motion for the formation of a new and efficient Administration. In that Administration the Catholic Question was proposed to be left open, and both the present Lord Wharncliffe and the Noble Secretary at War voted in favour of the motion which my Right Honourable Friend afterwards brought forward, and which was carried by a large majority. That majority amounted to 129. I voted on that occasion in the minority; it was a

small minority; and though the Protestant cause was not then supported by the same numbers as had supported it when Mr. Grattan's motion was brought forward, yet I at least preserved a consistent course.

On the occasion of Mr. Stuart Wortley's motion, my Right Honourable Friend assumed grounds for declining to form part of the Administration, which I consider so nearly similar to those on which I have now retired from the public service, that I think I cannot do better than state them; and I beg therefore to make use of them, not only as applying particularly to my own situation, but as conveying, in better language than my own, the description of the grounds on which I have thought myself called upon to secede :—

"I have been asked whether, supposing I had accepted the offer that was made to me, I should not have felt myself at perfect liberty to act as my own opinions

should dictate, upon the great question which constitutes the main bar of separation. I reply, that as a Minister, I know I should have been at liberty. I do not mean to assert, that if I had joined the present Administration to fight against my own principles, under the banners of the Noble Lord, I should not still have had the power of making my solitary speech, and of giving my solitary vote in support of opinions I had previously maintained—I will not even say that there may not be honourable minds who would be satisfied with such a distinction, and it may be my misfortune or my fault that I mine is not a mind of that construction; If, when out of office, I have lent to any cause that I deemed just, my influence and my authority, I never can consent to accept office under the condition that I shall instantly divest myself of that influence and authority, which ought still to be my companions, and to leave them

on one great and vital question in open and wilful abeyance."

The justice of these sentiments no man can deny, and all must admire; and I believe my Right Honourable Friends, like myself, were fully satisfied of their sincerity. He will now use, and no man can reasonably blame him for using, the influence and authority of the station he now fills, for the purpose of carrying that cause he has so long advocated in vain, and which out of office he declared to be just.

Almost every word then uttered by my Right Honourable Friend upon this point applies exactly to my case; and a little further on he observes, "Personal objections to the Noble Lord I declare I have none."—So I, in my turn, assert, from the bottom of my heart, that I have no personal objections to my Right Honourable Friend. I on this occasion, like him on that, "am actuated by no feeling of

rivalry," and willingly acquiesced in the retention of his services, when he was about to sail for India.

In attending his Majesty to Scotland, I closed my lips on the subject; and on the first day after my return to London, I waited on my Noble Friend at the head of the Government, and said, that if his Majesty, or my Colleagues, deemed it of importance that my Right Honourable Friend should hold the situations he has since filled, difficulties I would make none. That question, therefore, I decided four years ago, and I repeat in his words, that I have been "actuated by no feeling of rivalry; and with this particular question excepted, I could have no earthly hesitation either in acting with or under him." I too cannot allow "the predominance of his opinion to stifle mine;" and on entering the Cabinet under such circumstances, I cannot pretend not to know that his "influence and authority" will be

such as to paralyse all my feeble efforts in opposition to the object of his wishes. If I accepted office under him, let it be remembered that I must accept it with full notice of what were his views of the duties of a Prime Minister, invested with the influence and authority he will enjoy. In the course I have pursued, then, I have only acted in accordance with his example—an example I honour, and an example that ought to be set or followed by every public man.

In the course of the same speech, my Right Honourable Friend made some remarks upon the varieties of opinion entertained in the Cabinet. "But indeed (he added) it is unfair to impute to the Cabinet any opinion, because collectively it has none; and the retrospective influence upon my mind was, that if I had joined this *hortus siccus* of dissent, as Mr. Burke once termed it, we should have formed as beautiful a variety as was ever assembled

in so small a collection. But amidst such unprecedented differences, on which side is the influence and authority of Government enlisted? That is the main question: this man may hold a blue opinion; another a white, a third a green, a fourth a yellow, and a fifth a red; but with which of these shades does the sentiment of Government most nearly accord? Undoubtedly this point will be decided by the individual, who, holding the principal office, pre-eminently enjoys the confidence of the occupant of the Throne, and the additional weight he adds to the scale must overbalance the remainder." I hope, also, that I may add, in the words of my Right Honourable Friend, still in perfect accordance with my own sentiments, that "I could not feel that I entered the Cabinet with honour if I consented to give there a mere barren, solitary vote. I trust, although not very fairly put upon my trial, that my conduct is completely justified in

the eyes of the House and of the Country."

After the opinions I have avowed, and after the course I have taken for many years, I fairly own that there would have been no inconsiderable difficulties in the way of my accepting office under my Right Honourable Friend; but the peculiarity of my situation depends not merely upon the opinions I have avowed, not merely on the nature of the resistance I have offered to the Catholic Claims, not merely on the prominence of the part I have taken on that question, but on the fact, that for the last eleven or twelve years I have held two situations intermixing me with the administration of every Irish question: on me has devolved the whole responsibility, whether as Chief Secretary for Ireland, or as Secretary of State for the Home Department. The relation in which I stood to the Prime Minister, from the nature of the office I lately held, I knew presented

what I may venture to term an insuperable difficulty. Being now in the ranks of private life, and under no restraint of official reserve, I must fairly state that, for a long period, I only have been considered responsible for the affairs of Ireland. I was the only Minister of the Crown, in this House, who took the view I entertained of the Catholic Question; and I have been thus placed in a situation, not only of difficulty and embarrassment, but in a situation, in which, let me say, no Minister ought to be placed.

In the beginning of the year 1822 (a distinction certainly unsought and unsolicited on my part), I was appointed Secretary of State for the Home Department, with full notice, I admit, of the difficulties I might thereafter have to combat. If I retained office, it was not from personal motives, or from any desire of the distinction conferred; and, in 1825, after I had been left in minorities on three different

questions, immediately connected with Ireland—the Catholic Question, the Elective Franchise, and the Payment of the Catholic Clergy (which I thought something very like the establishment of the Roman Catholic Religion in Ireland)—I waited on my Noble Friend, then at the head of the Government. I told him that, personally, it was painful for me to disconnect myself from those whom I esteemed and respected; but that, having been left in a minority in that branch of the Legislature of which I was a Member, I anxiously desired to be relieved from my situation. The reply of my Noble Friend was, that my retirement would determine his own, and I finally consented to remain in office; my Noble Friend declaring that he deemed it of the highest importance that the Secretary of State for the Home Department should possess opinions as much as possible in accordance with those of the Prime Minister. He represented

to me the difficulty he should experience in filling up the situation, and, in short, that my retirement must determine his own. I was thus induced to waive my wish for retirement, and to consent to remain until a new Parliament had pronounced an opinion upon the great question which interests and agitates Ireland.

When last I addressed the House on that subject, on the Resolutions of the Right Honourable Baronet (Sir John Newport), I expected to have been again in a minority; and had that expectation been realized, I should then have withdrawn from the service of His Majesty. Although I prefer no complaint, for I have always been treated with the most perfect good faith, yet it was no enviable situation at any time to be the single Minister in this House, responsible for the administration of the affairs of Ireland—opposed by all my Colleagues, and daily seeing those very Colleagues, the Members of the Govern-

ment, actively concerting measures with my political opponents. They were at perfect liberty to do so; for it was understood that every man might exert himself, either in opposition to, or in promotion of, the Roman Catholic Claims. I make no complaint; I prefer no charge on this account; I only state the fact as the reason which made my situation extremely embarrassing. The support and assistance I received from my Noble Friend, Lord Liverpool, certainly rendered my difficulties less; but if, in the place of him, with whom I cordially concurred—with whom I entered into public life—and between whom and myself there never was a shadow of difference of opinion upon any subject; if I say, in his place, I should find my Right Honourable Friend, with whom I had the misfortune at all times to differ upon that paramount question, it is obvious that it was impossible for me to retain the particular situation I held, that of Secretary for

the Home Department, connected as it was with the office of Prime Minister. Is there an Honourable Gentleman who hears me, who does not feel, that if it were impossible for me to retain that situation, it was as impossible for me to be guilty of the paltry subterfuge of removing to another. I am perfectly satisfied all will be convinced that I took the only course remaining to me; and that after the misfortune which befel my Noble Friend, Lord Liverpool, I had no alternative but to retire.

The relation between the offices of Secretary for the Home Department and Prime Minister, is more intimate than is perhaps generally supposed. Not only do all Irish affairs pass through the hands of the Home Secretary, but his connexion with the Prime Minister is this—the Prime Minister has the disposal of all the patronage of Government, while the Home Secretary is the Minister who is

legally and constitutionally responsible. Every place of preferment in the Church, every political office, is disposed of by the Prime Minister; but the signature of the Secretary of State for the Home Department is indispensable to every instrument. Such being the fact, it becomes a matter of great importance in what manner this office is filled. He who is charged with the domestic government of this country ought not to be an individual materially differing in opinion from the head of the Administration. If this accordance do not exist, the Home Secretary can only retire, or come into painful collision with his coadjutor on individual appointments—a condition most sincerely to be deprecated—leaving him no alternative, but to withdraw from office upon some single, isolated point, the true grounds of which the country at large would never be able to understand and appreciate. It was my duty, therefore, to consider all these points, beforehand; and

if I felt that such collision would arise, it was my duty to prevent it by retirement, without running the risk of embarrassing the public service by adherence to office. These are the public grounds on which—with reference to my position regarding the Catholic Question—with a view to my position as Secretary of State for the Home Department, charged with the domestic administration of the affairs of Ireland—I thought it impossible to retain office under a Prime Minister differing from me in so marked a degree upon a question of such magnitude. Acting upon these grounds, with great reluctance, but at the same time without a moment's hesitation, I signified to his Majesty my determination.

Whether the House deems those grounds sufficient is a matter, give me leave to say, of subordinate consideration to the question whether, having intended to retire, I acted upon that intention in conformity

with public good faith, and with the respect I owed to the Sovereign who had honoured me with his confidence. I would much rather it should be thought that I acted precipitately, and upon insufficient grounds, than that I had been guilty of neglect of duty to my Country, and of want of respect to my Sovereign. The course I pursued was this: I felt my own situation to be one of difficulty, and I wished to influence the opinion and conduct of no man. The first person to whom I communicated my opinion, that I should not be able to concur in the new arrangement, was my Right Honourable Friend, then Secretary for Foreign Affairs. I mentioned my intention to retire to him, and to no other, and I knew not the intention of any other man, I acted on the sense of my own situation. The moment the subject was mentioned to me, I thought that it did not become me to act with any reserve; and having made up

my mind, not to require that my answer should be postponed until the question had been formally and officially put. This, I am sure, my Right Honourable Friend will do me the justice to admit. The 29th of March was the first occasion on which the subject was introduced, and I then said to my Right Honourable Friend, "I will tell you without reserve what are my feelings as to my particular situation: they dictate to me retirement from office, if his Majesty should select you to form an Administration." I am sure he will recollect that I made this statement, without any breach of that good understanding which has long subsisted between us. That information I took care to convey to the highest quarter; for here again I thought that there should be no reserve. My resolution was not sudden—I acted upon long previous conviction. The step I took was in no respect precipitate, and no one ought to have been taken by sur-

prize by it. Decorum was due to the painful situation of Lord Liverpool; and after what delicacy required was at an end, and the matter was formally discussed, I took care that no doubt should remain as to the line of conduct I intended to pursue. I felt a sincere desire, I admit, to remain connected with the late Administration; and I stated, that if any arrangement could be made, so as to place the Government on the same footing as when it was under the guidance of Lord Liverpool, I was satisfied with my situation, and wished for no change nor advancement.

If any arrangement could have been made, so as to secure to the office of Prime Minister sufficient weight, and to me the same principles, I was perfectly content to remain in office, and was desirous to act either with or under my Right Honourable Friend, and to see him possessed of all the influence and authority belonging to his high station. I also beg

leave to state, that I declared to my Right Honourable Friend, that the Catholic Question, and my position with respect to it, in the particular office I held, constituted my only objection to embark under his pilotage. Had I concurred with him upon that great topic, I should have been as ready to take office under him as under Lord Liverpool; but differing from him upon a domestic question of such importance, as Minister for the Home Department, from first to last I felt that it was impossible for me to continue in office with him.

Such having been my intention, the House has now heard the manner in which I carried it into effect. I before mentioned that I declared my intention without communication with others. As I acted without the concert, it is unnecessary for me to add that I did not resort to the advice of others. But, though I acted without concert with others, let me

repel the painful accusation preferred against me, that I look upon my late coadjutors now in a different light to that in which I formerly contemplated them. The esteem, respect, and admiration, I felt for them as my Colleagues in office, I still retain to its fullest extent, and I am far from wishing that my case should be separated from theirs. It is equally true, to state that I am at this moment prepared, if necessary, to vindicate them from the charge of concert and cabal. I am prepared to vindicate them collectively and individually, and to maintain that the course pursued by each of them was not only perfectly justifiable, but that their impressions and views of duty to the public service, and the conduct produced by those impressions and views, ought to be held up as an example to all who may be placed hereafter in similar circumstances. I declare then that the charge against these Ministers, or any

of them, that they acted by concert and cabal, is not only untrue, but directly the reverse of the truth. If there be any appearance of concert in the steps they have taken, it is because, in point of fact, there was no concert at all—that their course was accidentally coincident: and I must say, that if they had been base enough to cabal against their Sovereign, they would probably have been cunning enough to take care to avoid a discovery.

Although, by command of His Majesty, I did communicate to one of my Colleagues the course I felt bound to pursue, yet I never did inquire, and did not know, what steps that Colleague himself would take. I did not know the steps that any of them would take; but I certainly did state, that if the Government could be reconstructed, if the rest of my Colleagues remained in office, and if I could reserve to myself full discretion on the Catholic

Question, I thought, without giving any specific pledge, I could give them general support. But I never communicated, for instance, with the Lord Chancellor: I never opened my lips until the 9th of April, when the order was given for the formation of a new Administration; and I never knew the course he meant to pursue; and, upon my honour, I believe that the same may be said of every Member of the late Government who thought it right to retire. They carried their delicacy and reserve to such an extent, that I do not believe that any one man was acquainted with the course another meant to adopt.

As to dictation, also, I declare that the charge is not only untrue, but directly the reverse of the truth: there was no attempt to dictate to His Majesty by any one of the late Ministers. I can assert it with respect to myself, with respect to the Lord Chancellor, and with respect to that illustrious individual whose name is

stamped for ever on the records of immortality—that man who is not more remarkable for the brilliancy of his military exploits, than for the simplicity and singleness of his nature—that man whose candour and openness are habitual; and who is distinguished not only for the respect he bears to the King by office, but, above all, for the reverence he feels for the person of the Sovereign. When I see it charged, after the services he has rendered, that for the base purpose of any office he has acted in a way so derogatory and unworthy, the accusation seems so shameful in its injustice, and so revolting in its ingratitude, that it is impossible to speak of it without disgust and abhorrence. I say that I am prepared, were it necessary, to vindicate him and others from the foul aspersions cast upon them connected with their retirement; but I abstain from the undertaking, chiefly because it is not required at my hands, and because else-

where they may take an opportunity, if they think fit, of meeting and repelling the imputation.

I have now, I believe, nearly completed the task imposed upon me by circumstances, and I feel deeply the obligation conferred by the attentive indulgence of the House. It is a matter involving something of public principle, but much more of personal interest, and I cannot conclude a statement of such length, of the public grounds on which I am compelled to retire from office, without expressing deep regret at my separation from many with whom I have formerly acted with so much cordiality. That regret is nevertheless mitigated by the reflection, that I did every thing becoming my character to prevent that separation. Personally, too, I may lament that I shall not continue possessed of the opportunities my office afforded of making those changes, and in-

troducing those improvements, from the adoption of which only I hoped for distinction and reward.

I cannot but feel concern that the confidence of my Sovereign is withdrawn, and the change is the more painful from the uniform kindness and gracious consideration with which he formerly contemplated my labours, and my solicitude for the public welfare.

I have the satisfaction of reflecting that every institution, civil and military, connected with my office, during the last five years, has been subjected to close inspection and strict review, and that I have been able to make such temperate and gradual reforms, as I thought were consistent with their general and permanent good. I have also the gratification of knowing that every law found in the statute-book when I entered office, which imposed any temporary, or any extraordinary restriction on the liberty of the subject,

has either been repealed or allowed to expire. I may be a Tory—I may be illiberal—but the fact is undeniable, that when I first entered upon the duties of the Home Department, there were laws in existence which imposed upon the subjects of this realm unusual and extraordinary restrictions: the fact is undeniable, that those laws have been effaced.

Tory as I am, I have the further satisfaction of knowing, that there is not a single law connected with my name, which has not had for its object some mitigation of the severity of the Criminal Law—some prevention of abuse in the exercise of it, or some security for its impartial administration. I may also recollect with pleasure, that during the severest trials to which the manufacturing interests have ever been exposed during the winter of the last two years, I have preserved internal tranquillity without applying to the House

for measures of extraordinary severity. I hope it will not be considered unbecoming if I allude further to the satisfaction I derive from reflecting upon my exertions in favour of the just prerogative of the Crown.

For all the ancient institutions of my country I have felt a natural prepossession, and an earnest desire that they should preserve that veneration which has promoted their continuance; but those prepossessions have not prevented me from inquiring into cases of alleged abuse, and that desire has urged me in a friendly and temperate spirit, to examine to what degree corruption may have intruded. Where change and restoration were deemed necessary, they have been applied, thus recommending those ancient institutions to the long-enduring attachment and veneration of the country.

I again thank the House for the opportunity it has afforded me of giving this explanation, and I shall conclude by

assuring it that the confidence of my Sovereign, the good-will of his People, and the approbation of Parliament, have been at once the motive, and the reward of my exertions.

THE END.

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PROS AND CONS;

OR,

A BRIEF ANALYSIS

OF

THE LATE DEBATE AND DIVISION

ON THE

CATHOLIC QUESTION:

INTENDED

AS A MANUAL TO HONEST AND REFLECTING MEN,

FOR

CORRECTING THEMSELVES,

OR

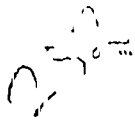
ENABLING THEM TO CORRECT OTHERS.

WITH A SHORT COMMENTARY.

LONDON:

JAMES RIDGWAY, PICCADILLY.

1827.



LONDON:
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PROS AND CONS.

N. B. Each separate topic, as it commences, is distinguished by the mark §, and the arguments under each are numbered in their logical order.

Pros.	*Cons.*
§ 1. The Catholics, to a man, demand Emancipation.	2. Conceded.
§ 1. The Irish members are two to one in favour of Emancipation.	2. Granted; but they are interested, because they are elected by Catholics.
3. Their being elected by Catholics is, on the contrary, the best proof of their disinterestedness; because, if the measure be carried, they will lose their seats.	4. No reply.
§ 1. England is the only European State that makes the Catholic religion a political disqualification.	2. Granted; but other States have permission from the Pope to exercise a Veto on the nomination of the Catholic Bishops.
3. The Pope would, no doubt,	4. No reply.

Pros.	*Cons.*
allow us the same veto, if our laws permitted a negociation.	
§ 1. To refuse Emancipation, is to persist in a breach of the Treaty of Limerick.	2. It is no breach of the Treaty, as interpreted by King William and his Parliament.
3. No one judges of a contract by the interpretation of an interested party.	4. No reply.
6. If the Treaty only applied to a part of the people, keep it with that part.	5. It is no breach of the Treaty; because the Treaty only applied to a part of the people.
7. The first article of the Treaty, at least, is general.	8. But the first article refers solely to the freedom of religion.
9. A religion is not free which exposes its professors to civil disabilities.	10. No reply.
§ 1. To refuse Emancipation is a breach of the national faith virtually pledged at the Union.	2. Granted; but the advocates of Emancipation have lost their claim, because they have shifted the ground of their demands in

Pros.	*Cons.*
	abandoning the principle of securities.
3. The advocates of Emancipation have not abandoned the principle of securities; they have only not brought them so prominently forward as formerly; *first*, because their opponents do not demand them as peremptorily;* *secondly*, because these much-talked of securities have been already, with safety, neglected on occasion of the most important concessions, *viz.* in 1793, and in 1818.	4. No reply.
§ 1. There is no mode of tranquillizing Ireland but Emancipation.	2. There are two other modes, *viz.* putting down Catholic Priesthood, or administering equal justice.
3. The Catholic priesthood cannot be put down without putting down the Catholic religion, and the Catholic religion cannot be put down without exterminating the population	4. No reply.

* See Lord Liverpool's Speech, in 1825.

Pros.	*Cons.*
of Ireland; and the administration of justice has improved, but the discontent has grown worse.	
2. Our ancestors were Catholics, and Europe is Catholic.	§ 1. It is expedient to refuse Emancipation, because the Catholics are hostile to liberty.
2. The King has acknowledged his confidence in the allegiance of Catholics, in Lord Sidmouth's circular letter, on occasion of his visit to Ireland. The Parliament has acknowledged its confidence in the allegiance of Catholics, by 5 Eliz. cap. 1; 18 Geo. III. cap. 60; 31 Geo. III. cap. 32; and 43 Geo. III.; and the allegiance of the Catholics has been proved by their conduct in Ireland, and most remarkably by the adherence of Canada to its allegiance, when the other American States revolted.	§ 1. It is expedient to refuse Emancipation, because Catholics will not bear allegiance to a Protestant King.
§ 1. The Catholics are ready to take the oath of allegiance.	2. They are not to be believed on oath

Pros.	*Cons.*
3. Then what good is there in the oath of supremacy being imposed on them?	4. No answer.
2. The Catholic religion will not advance the less, for excluding thirty Catholics from Parliament.	§ 1. It is expedient to refuse Emancipation, because the Catholic religion is advancing.
2. Our ancestors had a Pretender to fear.	§ 1. It is expedient to refuse Emancipation, because our ancestors deemed the present restrictions the best security for a Protestant King.
2. We have already abandoned it in part, and to stop where we now are is to adopt a most dangerous policy; namely, that of giving power to the lower classes, and keeping it from the upper.	§ 1. It is expedient to adhere to the policy of our ancestors.
2. The Catholics could easily elect members for this purpose, or any other, under the existing laws, but they do not.	§ 1. It is expedient to refuse Emancipation, because the Catholics would elect members to subvert the Church of the Empire.
2. Emancipation would not	§ 1. It is expedi-

Pros.	*Cons.*
give new political power to the Catholics; they already possess all real political power in the elective franchise; what remains to be given is not *power*, but *honour*: to refuse, may insult them, but it can take away real strength only from ourselves.	ent to refuse Emancipation, because to give new political power to the Catholics would endanger the Church of Ireland.
2. The danger of the Irish Church arises from the magnitude of the Catholic population, and nothing else; and how can the exclusion of thirty individuals from Parliament diminish or check that population?	§ 1. To refuse Emancipation, is the best security for the Irish Church.

DIVISION.

Pros.		*Cons.*	
Placemen	29	Placemen	42
Brothers, or Sons of Placemen	10	Brothers, or Sons of Placemen	38
English and Welsh County Members	36	County Members, Welsh and English	39
Irish Members	57	Irish Members	34

COMMENTARY

ON THE

DEBATE OF 5th & 6th MARCH, 1827.

A REMARK that every one will make on this memorable Debate is, that four-fifths of it had nothing to do with the question before the House. The House was called upon to *consider* the condition of the Catholics in Ireland. All parties agreed in representing this as a most momentous object of consideration; and this point being once agreed on, all further debate on the question then proposed ought to have ended, and the resolution acquiesced in: but, instead of this, a long discussion ensued on the merits of the Catholic Question, whereby the opponents of the resolution fell into the gross inconsistency of saying, the Catholic Question ought not to be considered at all,—and yet considering it most fully and at large.

But it may be said, that the *real* question upon this resolution in fact was, whether or no the Catholics should be emancipated? To this I reply, that Parliamentary forms are either good for something, or

not. If they are good for something, let them be supported in practice: if not, let them be abolished. And I may add to this, that whatever interpretation old tacticians in Parliament may put upon these distinctions, the country considers them to mean what they plainly import; and an Irish Catholic will be doubly indignant when he finds, that Parliament will not listen to him at all, to what he would be if they gave him a patient hearing, and rejected his prayer. In support of this assertion, I refer my readers to the comments of the most popular journals in Ireland and England. Since, however, the effect of this strange and devious mode of reasoning probably was, to lead every Member of the House, then present, to consider himself as deliberating on the Catholic Question itself, one is naturally led to inquire, what are the grounds on which the opinion of an honest man ought to rest, upon this important subject? The considerations involved in this inquiry may be ranged under two heads:—1. Matter of Evidence. 2. Matter of Policy. By Evidence, we are to ascertain the evil; by Policy, we are to administer the cure.

First, then, what is the evil? The evil may be considered as compound—part of it may, for the sake of distinction, be called proximate; and part of it, remote. Now, the evidence, as to what is the proximate evil, is most satisfactory. All sides agree in stating the proximate evil to be the discontent of

six millions of Catholics, on the subject of their civil disabilities. The more remote evil, or, in other words, the true *cause* of this discontent, is more disputed; and we have here to judge between conflicting evidence. Some say, the disqualifying laws are the cause; and that the Irish Catholics actually feel themselves insulted and degraded by those laws. Others say, that they do not feel, and cannot feel, any such thing, because the body of them does not *really* suffer at all by those laws; but that they are excited by their demagogues and priesthood to believe themselves injured and degraded. How are we to decide between these two statements? Which are we to believe? We are to believe that which is supported by the best testimony. Now, look to the credit of the principal witnesses on either side; and bear in mind, that their credit rests on two qualities—*disinterestedness* and *knowledge*. Of the former opinion* are, Mr. Plunkett, who may be said to pass his life in Ireland, and who has every advantage for forming a just conclusion on the subject, from his high official situation, great honesty, and great abilities; Sir John Newport, who has also passed the greater part of his long and virtuous life in Ireland, and is admitted, by his opponents as well as his supporters, to be perfectly disinterested in all his views; Mr. Spring Rice, also a resident in Ireland, whose

* I am here confining myself to the Debaters. The balance of evidence, in the Committee of Inquiry, is still stronger.

industry, honesty, and abilities are equally acknowledged.

On the other hand, the only important witness in this debate, who says that the population is only excited by demagogues and the priesthood, and does not, of itself, care about Emancipation, is Mr. Dawson. For it is remarkable, that, as to *this* point, Mr. Peel and Mr. Goulburn, whose knowledge and character place them in the first rank of what are called Anti-Catholics, bear no testimony at all. Now, Mr. Dawson, having belonged to Orange societies, and having headed the faction of the Protestant ascendancy in his county for many years, must have imbibed strong prejudices on the subject, and have a strong *interest* in retaining that power which circumstances have bestowed on him. There is every reason to suppose, also, that he is an *ignorant* witness, since he, for the most part, resides in England. Any one, therefore, who deems this dispute important to the question, must, I think, upon this balance of evidence, be assured that the main body of the Irish Catholics are not merely excited to a sensibility on the subject of Emancipation by their priests and demagogues, but have, themselves, a deep feeling on the question, quite unaffected by the influence of individuals. But it may reasonably be held, that this dispute about the true cause of the discontents is entirely unimportant to the question; for even if it be the priests and demagogues only who excite the

dissatisfaction, it may still fairly be concluded that Emancipation will put an end to it, by taking from these the very basis of their political influence. But whatever may be the *importance* of this dispute, it is at least not the *first* that arises in the discussion of the merits of the question.

The first point to be settled is, that there *is evil* in conceding Emancipation, and the proof of this lies on the enemies of the measure.

If laws had been passed, a century ago, to prohibit Catholics from wearing white hats, and they were now to demand, with one voice, a repeal of those laws (since it could never enter the head of man that *any evil* could result from granting it), should we stop to inquire, what was the *real* cause of the demand? or, what was the real good to result from the concession? or, how long it would serve to content them? So with Catholic Emancipation, the demand is *alone* sufficient to make the concession expedient, whatever may be the cause of that demand, *unless it is shown that some evil will ensue from the concession.* Now I affirm, that this cannot, by possibility, be shown. If I am right, the question of Policy is settled, of course. No man can dispute, that it is *politic* to grant to a people that which they claim, and which, if conceded, can do no injury to them or to others. In this view, therefore, all that can be said on the evils that will result from Catholic Emancipation, may be, for the sake of clearness,

ranged under the second head of the division made above, namely, that of Policy.

What, then, is the grand evil, as it is stated, of granting the claims of the Catholics? The evil is stated, by Mr. Peel, to be the exposure of the Protestant Church and Protestant State (not of Ireland, but of the Empire) to the danger of subversion. Now, in judging of probabilities, what is the principle we go by?—analogy. The argument of analogy is directly against this supposition; for, with what semblance of plausibility can it be contended, that the Catholic religion (the same, confessedly, all over the world) should render its followers more hostile to a predominating Protestant establishment, in Church and State, in our kingdom of Great Britain, than in other kingdoms where that religion prevails? Let it always be remembered, that I am arguing here against the charge made against the Catholics, laity and clergy, of desiring a *total* subversion of Protestantism. I shall presently consider the charge respecting the Irish Establishment alone. I ask, then, if it is not a notorious fact, that there are many states, in Europe and America, where Catholic and Protestant establishments co-exist, without there being any political struggle about ascendancy?—where all that is demanded by either, are rights and privileges *proportioned* to the importance and number of their respective followers—that is to say, rights and privileges to which the wise principle of toleration

entitles them. Do we ever hear of the laymen of these countries fighting for the extension of the territories of their several churches, beyond those limits which justice requires? Laymen have, in these times, no zeal about church politics.

Considering, therefore, the character of Catholic statesmen, and the little connexion that appears to subsist between them and the priests of their faith in foreign countries, the utmost that can, in fairness, be maintained by the opponents of Catholic Emancipation is, that this measure might lead to a *co-establishment* of a Catholic church with our Protestant, proportioned to the exigencies of the Catholics, and why not? Have we not abundant reason to conclude, that if such were to become the ecclesiastical constitution of the empire, there would only ensue consequences similar to those which ensue from a like blending of institutions abroad? Why is it more likely, in such an event, that an Irish or an English Catholic should hate an Irish or an English Protestant, on account of his religion, more than a Swiss Catholic is found to hate a Swiss Protestant, or a German Catholic a German Protestant, and so forth? But it is constantly asserted, that the Catholic religion is a religion of aggression; that it still possesses the character of a boundless ambition, to convert or to destroy all those of a different persuasion. Are the persons who assert this acquainted with the state of any European country but Ireland? If they be so, they must know

that what they assert is false, of the religion generally; and, if they have any reflection, they must be struck with the difference in the characters of persons of that persuasion, in respect of a spirit of ambition and aggression, abroad and at home. Now, the tenets of the religion being the same every where, how comes it to pass that Irish Catholics are turbulent, pushing, and ambitious, and others not so? Different effects argue different causes; but the difference cannot lie in the religion: that is the same. Where, then, does it lie? In the difference of their political condition alone.

If analogy be a sound principle for political reasoning, therefore we may safely conclude, that the common idea of the consequences of an establishment, partially Catholic, taking root in this empire, is founded on a very false notion of the state of men's minds on religion in the present age. Such a result could produce no more harm here than it has done elsewhere. It has no where been productive of a spirit of encroachment, and therefore it will not be so here.

But, perhaps, the analogous cases which I have referred to, to show that the very utmost innovation in our ecclesiastical establishment, which could by possibility ensue from Catholic Emancipation, in any view of reason and common sense, is a partial recognition of a Catholic establishment by law, may not appear satisfactory to some minds, because they cannot

refrain from believing, that there is something peculiar in *Irish* Catholicism—that the tenets of that religion work in some new and strange way in the brains of an Irishman, and make him a being totally different in spirit from his brethren abroad. I have stated above, the most rational cause that can be assigned for any perceivable difference in the characters of the followers of Catholicism in Ireland, from their characters in foreign countries, in respect of religious spirit. But it may still by some be believed, that it is not from their condition of civil disqualification, but from their birth and blood, that this difference arises; and that, because they *now, like* all other human beings in similar circumstances, ask for more than they have, they will *always, unlike* all other human beings, ask for more than we give them; that because they now wish, *like* all other men, to be put on a *level* with their fellow subjects, they will hereafter wish, *unlike* all other men, to be *set above* them. Every man, and every body of men, will, no doubt, always desire as much power as they can obtain; but before it can be admitted that the Catholics will, *as a body*—united and co-operating—even *desire* supreme power after Emancipation is granted, it must be shown, by some experience of these days, that an *esprit de corps*, on account of their religion, will continue to subsist among them. What evidence, however, is there of the probability of such a case? Is it their religion that unites them now, as a body, hostile to Protes-

tants, or their state of political proscription? Religion is not now, in any part of the civilized world, a bond of union of *itself* to *politicians*. The political intriguers of the Catholics will, after their political proscription is ended, be no more inclined to co-operate because of their religion being the same, than any Protestant statesmen in Europe; as for instance, Lord Eldon and Mr. Canning are now inclined to co-operate, because *they* are Protestants. It being highly improbable, therefore, that the Catholic religion, of itself, should, in these times, ever form a bond of political union among Catholic laymen, so far Emancipation would weaken their strength; but, for sake of argument, I will suppose that they will still continue politically combined, as unanimously as they are now, although all their civil degradation were ended. I imagine it is not contended that they are *now strong* enough to overturn Church and State, it is only said that they will be then; and therefore it must be supposed, that they will materially gain in strength by the concessions proposed. Mr. Peel has argued this point for the Anti-catholics, as well, perhaps, as it can be argued; I will take it therefore, as the best adversary's case. He says that thirty Catholic Members in the House of Commons, and five or six Catholic Peers in the House of Lords, will *certainly aim* at the overthrow of the Protestant Church and State, and *may* overthrow it. I have shown that, if they ever unite to aim at this, they are unlike all their

brethren in similar circumstances; and not only that, but unlike all other civilized human beings of any religious persuasion in the present age. But if, in contradiction to all the principles of human nature, the Catholic religion united all the admitted Members ever so zealously, for the destruction of the Protestant State and Church, how is it to be accomplished? Let any man look at each successive stage of such a proceeding, and ask himself if there is any probability of any one, or any possibility of all of them being accomplished? One of these thirty Members must be supposed to have the audacity and folly to get up and propose, to a British House of Commons, some measure directly or indirectly tending to undermine the established Church of the *Empire*.

Now, the Anti-Catholics, as well as myself, profess themselves great admirers of our Constitution, and they must therefore be supposed to be great admirers of the House of Commons, as the principal part of that Constitution; and their admiration is either worth nothing, or they must admire it for its justice, for its temperance, for its sensibility to the interests of the people at large, and such other virtues as distinguish a Legislature. But if they are convinced that the House of Commons has these great qualities, with what consistency can they imagine, that it will ever countenance, in any degree, a proposition so monstrous as, that an ecclesiastical establishment adverse to the faith of three-fourths of the people of

this empire, should be forced upon them, in violation of all honesty and justice. But they not only, by adopting this extravagant hypothesis, belie their own opinion of the Constitution, but unconsciously utter the foulest slander against the Protestant religion itself, of which they profess to be the champions. What! are the foundations of our faith so weak, and is the truth of our religion so doubtful, as for the breath of two or three Catholic orators to alienate the affections of the House of Commons from it? and not only of the House of Commons, but of the country at large? And will free Englishmen endure the yoke of a religion in which they do not believe?

Mr. Peel has put the supposed plan somewhat differently; he says, the thirty Catholic Members might have gigantic powers of intellect and eloquence; they might become the principal officers of state; and then they might win the ears of his Majesty; and then they might persuade him that Protestantism was false; and then they might force a Catholic church down the throats of the people. But are those who listen to such arguments aware, that all this is possible at this present moment; that his Majesty's ears are already open to the seductive eloquence of Catholics; that any Catholic nobleman may demand an audience of him to-morrow, and annihilate, by some of those potent charms ascribed to the tenets of the Catholic religion, and the arts of the Catholics, all the frail foundation of the royal faith. Nay, horrible

to relate, his Majesty has already actually had interviews in Ireland with all the Catholic hierarchy, and yet we heard of no remonstrance being made by Mr. Peel, or our bishops, against this hazardous exposure of the Protestant establishment in Church and State; which, nevertheless, has been, somehow or other, miraculously preserved as strong and pure as ever.

Would any Catholic of common sense or sagacity, who had at all weighed the difficulty of obtaining high political stations in this country, or considered the violence of the national prejudice against his religion, ever think of accomplishing the purpose imputed to him in Mr. Peel's argument, by such an uncertain and round-about method, as advancing himself through Parliament to a high office of trust beside his Majesty? Why should not he take one of the much shorter roads, now open to him, to his Majesty's ear—that ear, which is supposed to take such delight in the music of theological controversy? Has he not the press open to him? Can he not prompt the Duke of Norfolk for a few interviews? Where, then, is the evidence of this Catholic ardour for proselytism? The Catholics appear to be so far from feeling it, that they not only make no attempts to propagate their faith, but submit to perpetual attacks from Protestants, without even deigning to give them an answer.

But not only do the Catholics afford us abundant assurance, by their present theological inactivity (if I may be allowed the expression), that they will not

abuse, in the manner supposed by Mr. Peel, the power which he (overlooking existing circumstances and laws) conceives will be, for the first time, placed in Catholic hands by Emancipation; but we know of cases singularly analogous to that of the Catholic Question, where the same foolish prophecies about a spirit of advancement and encroachment were made, and entirely falsified. Swift considered the Union with Scotland as tantamount to the overthrow of the English Church. The hostility of the Presbyterians, in those times, to the Church of England, was certainly not inferior to that of the Catholics now. But have the forty-five Scotch Members ever been deputed to undermine our establishment? Are they *combined* for this desperate purpose? Do they ever think about which Church is uppermost? Are they not divided, like the other Members of the House, among the various political parties?

The repeal of the Sacramental Test was represented nearly in the same way by Swift; and any one who refers to his Letter on that subject, will find that he uses precisely the same arguments about the unreasonableness and encroachments of the Presbyterians, that are now urged against the Catholics. How and when did all this end?—It ended the instant that Presbyterians were treated like other subjects.

I think any one who duly considers these arguments, cannot believe that Catholics, if admitted to Parliament, will either desire, or be able to establish, a Catholic Church on the ruins of the Protestant in

this kingdom. As to the demand of some provision for their Church, proportioned to the amount of its followers, I confess that I never could see any thing unreasonable in it, particularly with the analogous case of the Presbyterians before me; but I beg those who think such a demand unreasonable, or impious, or whatever else they please to call it, to consider, that it is just as likely to be made by Catholics excluded from Parliament as by Catholics admitted to it; and Emancipation can make no kind of difference in the justice or injustice of the claim.

Such is the opinion that common reflection has taught me to form of the Catholic Question. The steps by which I arrive at it are very simple. I observe (a singular and lucky circumstance in so controverted a matter), that one fundamental point is allowed by both parties—namely, the unanimous sense of the Catholics, and the intensity of their feelings on this subject. The range of the discussion thus becomes very much narrowed; and I find I have neither any need of inquiring the advantages such concessions may procure, nor the real cause of the dissatisfaction expressed, till I can discover some evils in granting them. I try to discover them, and I find absolutely none; and if any man will, by a little of what Newton has called patient thinking, solve the question, Why should we refuse? to himself—if he will submit all his favourite prejudices to the torturing scrutiny of reason—if he will argue on the principles of action that work on the living gene-

ration, and not suffer his mind to be led away by terms conveying no true and distinct ideas—if he will not suffer the constitution to be confounded, in his understanding, with a bundle of unjust and useless laws, nor the Pope to fright his imagination with the phantom of a power long since politically defunct, he will soon start from his delusion, and be no more able to trace its causes than to account for a dream, or explain what he has been saying in his sleep.

FINIS.

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LETTER

TO THE

REV. DR. SHUTTLEWORTH,

WARDEN OF NEW COLLEGE,

OXFORD.

By LORD HOLLAND.

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TO

THE REV. DR. SHUTTLEWORTH.

My Dear Sir,

You ask, if the Roman Catholics would be contented, or promise to be contented, with being placed on the same footing with other Dissenters; and if they would not look to the subversion of the Protestant Church? —My answer must be partly historical and partly conjectural. It is, however, first necessary to clear the ground, by explaining what the being *upon the same footing with other Dissenters* means; though I dare say you are one of the very few, out of Parliament, who are aware of the anomalous and contradictory state in which the laws affecting Dissenters, who are not Roman Catholics, at present stand in England and Ireland. All, except Roman Catholics, and perhaps Jews and Quakers (though, if *they* are excluded, it is by a mere accident, unforeseen and unintended by the framers

of the statute) are entitled *by law* to sit in Parliament: no test excludes them from the Lords or the Commons, either in theory or in practice. In Ireland, the Protestant Dissenter is excluded from no office whatever, except such (purely ecclesiastical I conceive) as a man must qualify for by subscribing the thirty-nine Articles. Consequently, if Irish Catholics were placed on the same footing with other Dissenters, all offices in Ireland, as well as Parliament, would be open to them by common law and ancient right, as well as in fact and practice.

In England it is otherwise. In consequence of certain statutes, no Protestant Dissenter, or indeed any other whatever, can hold the meanest office of Tidewaiter *by law*. He is punishable for so doing, but the Legislature annually defers his punishment for a year, in order and on condition that, in the course of that year, he shall violate his conscience, and, according to the doctrine of our Church, incur damnation by taking the communion after a rite he disapproves and condemns. The result of this is, that Dissenters, at least such as are not very scrupulous indeed, do hold such offices as

they can get in corporations and under Government, *against law and under sufferance,* exposed to a penalty that hangs over their heads, suspended by an Act of Parliament, which, in form and avowed character, is a single thread, but rendered, by the frequency of the usage, as strong a cable as any in the Statute Book. But they are still exposed by this law to the imputation of acting illegally, to the taunts of their colleagues, and to a badge of inferiority. Practically, perhaps, they are satisfied, and certainly they substantially escape uninjured from the Test Act; but they are not, and cannot be, contented: and, above all, you can hardly expect them to *say* they are contented with such an unjust and unnecessary mark of degradation upon them. Place the Roman Catholics in England upon the same footing, and I suppose their feelings would be the same; they would acquiesce and submit, probably, without a mumur; they would be thankful for the practical benefit conferred, especially if accompanied with two much greater, *viz.*—admission to Parliament, and admission to vote for elections; but they would not, and could not, applaud the

jealousy, or rather the love of assumed superiority, which left them exposed, nominally, to the fierce penalties of the Test Act*. This, however, would affect few, if any, *Irish* Roman Catholics, and that so remotely, that it would in no way or degree impair the satisfaction they would feel on recovering their admissibility to Parliament, and to all *Irish* temporal offices.

But will they abandon all designs of subverting the Protestant Church? and will they say so distinctly?

* It was no part of my design, in writing this Letter, to examine or to expose that disgrace to our Statute Book, commonly called the Test Act; but having incidentally mentioned it, I must acknowledge that it is matter of surprise to me that all religious men have not long since combined with the friends of freedom to procure the abrogation of so disgusting a law. One part of it, the sacramental test, is as revolting to every sense of religion as the whole together is hostile to the rights of conscience and the liberty of the subject. It is an Act to abridge the prerogatives of the Crown, to violate the liberties of the people, to hold out temptations to perjury and premiums on hypocrisy, and to entrap the unwary members of the Church themselves into a profanation of the most sacred rite of their religion. In short, I know of no law which, in principle, is liable to so many and such grave objections.

To this I can only answer, that, for these last twenty years, they have been saying so distinctly, solemnly, and, I believe, sincerely, in every petition, in every declaration, in every oath, and in evidence upon oath before Parliament. But whether they *now* either feel or say it, or if they do, whether, when they find that such proffered condition purchases nothing in return, they will continue to do so, is somewhat more problematical; and, for the following reasons:—Their adversaries, very unadvisedly for the interests of the Irish Protestant Church, have constantly urged its existence as the chief, if not the sole motive for withholding their political rights from Roman Catholic subjects. Some have even said that a Church, so anomalous in its nature,—so disproportionately rich in its endowments, and differing from so large a majority of the inhabitants, in its tenets—can only be maintained by laws of political exclusion. To the examples of Scotland—of America—of the Netherlands, they have said,—in the first, a *different* religion from our own is established; in the second, *no* religion is established; in a third, there is a *co-establishment* of both religions: but,

in Ireland, where that of the minority is dominant, the majority of the people, who belong to another, must be kept out of their political rights for the purpose of preserving it. Is it not natural, is it not just for men, to whom so strange an argument is addressed, to reply, "We might submit to pay a Church to which we do not belong; we might agree not to molest an establishment which our wealthy countrymen prefer, and which the most powerful portion of our empire cherishes and protects, provided such Church and establishment did not interfere with our temporal concerns and constitutional rights: but if the Church, not satisfied with her own privileges and endowments, is to be made the cause or the pretext for depriving us of that share of the benefits of the State which all our fellow-subjects enjoy; if she is the great obstacle to our reasonable and legitimate desires, the bar to obvious and undeniable justice,—why then she is our chief and only enemy; and it is little more than bare justice to ourselves, to our brethren, and to our posterity, to do our best to overturn her." Thus, instead of admissibility to Parliament being a stepping stone to

the subversion of the Church (with which for more than twenty years it is my firm persuasion it was never associated,) the *exclusionists* have taught the petitioners that the subversion of the Church may become a *necessary* preliminary to their admissibility to Parliament. And have they not in truth the same means of subverting the Church Establishment without being in Parliament, and ten times stronger motives for doing it, than if they were admitted? It can only be done in three ways—by force—by public opinion —or by law. The two first are obviously to the full as much within their reach, without what is called Emancipation as with it. Indeed, I should say more, but it would lead me too far to explain my reasons, for they affect the whole of this great question.

With respect to subversion by law, it appears to me, that the substitution of persons professing the Roman Catholic religion for those Protestants who owe their seats exclusively to the Roman Catholic interest, so far from assisting, would rather impede any such project. They would, if desirous of fame, or ambitious of power in Parliament, be extremely cautious of stirring such ques-

tions themselves; and, stirred by them, or supported by them, questions of that sort would excite more notice, jealousy, and suspicion, than in the hands of Protestant representatives. Yet, many Protestants might be found (indeed, I know many in Ireland), as eager and as earnest for the reduction of the church revenues, from worldly, and, perhaps, interested motives, as any Catholic can be from feelings of a religious nature. And I will frankly acknowledge, that, *judging by myself*, I should imagine English Protestants would become more indifferent to the fate of the Irish Protestant Church, if they thought the Irish Catholic laity were for ever to be excluded, on her account, from Parliament, than they have hitherto been. As long as there is a prospect of effecting a real, as well as nominal union with the Irish people, and admitting them to the full enjoyment of the Constitution,—so long on the ground of scrupulous, punctilious, perhaps overstrained good faith, and in consideration of the article of Union only (not, I confess, from any sense of her usefulness), I, for one, am ready to maintain the Protestant Irish

Church, and her enormous revenues: but the moment I am satisfied that she is to be maintained, not only at the expense of treasure and of reason, but of principle and justice to others,—that she exists only in virtue of the degradation and exclusion of the large body of the inhabitants of the country, that moment I consider her as not only an useless and expensive, but an unlawful and tyrannical institution, and therefore a nuisance to be put down. I hope we are not come, but I think (thanks to some who call themselves friends to that Church) that we are fast coming to that pass. The Church of Ireland is in jeopardy. If she is to stand athwart the only way that conducts to peace and good government, I devoutly hope she may crumble to pieces: but if she can be persuaded to let the throng pass by her side without molestation, I believe it will be only here and there a surly passenger who will grumble at being turned out of his direct path, and sneer a little at the eyesore of so preposterous an edifice.

As to the other notion, that the Roman Catholics aim at seizing the Church, and converting her revenues to the support of their

own, as far as public declarations (on oath or otherwise), private information, and reasonable conjecture can produce certainty in one's mind of any men's intentions, I should say, with confidence, that no such project is entertained—no such end desired, even by the Roman Catholic clergy; and that it would be resisted, if attempted—rejected, if offered, by the Catholic laity, from motives, not merely of propriety and prudence, but of interest and temper. Roman Catholics have now, for forty years, bought old church and abbey lands in Ireland as willingly, and of late years to as great an extent, as Protestants. They consider our Protestant confiscations of church property as the best possible title; and they are not such fools as not to know, that the same principle which would assign to the ancient and original Church the tithes and lands settled by Parliament on the Protestant Church, would shake the title of those who hold property by a similar or more flagrant act of sacrilege. Hitherto, all the plans (and there have been many) devised for paying the Irish Roman Catholic Church, out of the revenues either of the Church or State, have been suggested and devised by

Protestant prelates and ministers (Mr. Pitt, particularly), and have always met with a cold reception from the Catholic clergy, and a yet colder, not to say a positive resistance, from the laity. They are latterly become yet more jealous on that head. They stickle for the entire dependence of their bishops and pastors on their flocks. I am satisfied if there were a revolution to-morrow, and Ireland were separated from England, that, out of the horrible confiscations which would inevitably ensue, not one rood of land would go to their secular clergy, whom they would pay by contributions or stipends, but not by endowments.

The result of all this prolix argument, which applies exclusively to Ireland and the Irish Church, is this, — that there is still some prospect of disarming or defeating the hostility felt by the Roman Catholics of that country to the Protestant Church, by conceding the remaining political points ;—that timely conciliation would certainly have had that effect;—that, without a concession of those points, the hostility must subsist and increase ;—and that the later it comes, the less effectual it is likely

to prove in removing it;—but that such concession must ever afford the best chance of removing or mitigating the hostility, while, in truth, it would afford very little, or rather no means of gratifying it, in addition to those which already exist.

As far as your question relates to the English Church and English Roman Catholic Dissenters, there is no difficulty in answering it in positive and unqualified terms. English Catholics entertain *no* project, and harbour *no* wish, of disturbing the Establishment—much less of seizing any part of its revenues for themselves. They would, if it were deemed necessary, make any declaration, or give any security or promise, to that effect, that ingenuity could devise, or jealousy suggest. There would, indeed, be something ludicrous in exacting any such promise. One might as well insist on every urchin that comes to Westminster School engaging his word of honour not to pull down the Abbey.

Since I have been betrayed into much greater length than I intended, and am speaking of English Roman Catholics, I will encroach on your patience a little longer,

and remark on one or two topics which, though not glanced at in your letter, have been very conspicuous this season in the discussions on this eternal subject.

It is often said, that the intemperate language of the Association, and of the Irish Roman Catholic priesthood, forms in itself a strong objection to the measure; and it is not unfrequently added, by those who urge that objection, that were the Catholics more moderate there would be more disposition in Government and Parliament to accede to their wishes. Now, to the first proposition I answer, that the intemperate language complained of, is an objection to the laws as they stand, not to the alteration we propose. It is a consequence, and, as we contend, an unavoidable, though mischievous, consequence of the *exclusion combined with the English constitution.* If inconvenient and dangerous, it is an inconvenience and danger which we must continue to incur, till we resolve either to remove the immediate and chief cause, *viz.* the exclusion; or to alter, for the purpose of maintaining that exclusion, the very Constitution which facilitates and sanctions such freedom of language, and which we have, by the Union, engaged to

secure to the Irish people. It is worse than idle to urge the bad, but necessary, effects of a law, as a reason, or rather a motive of passion, for maintaining it. As long as injustice continues, discontent must and ought to prevail. As long as freedom of speech is allowed to subsist, discontent will and must produce complaint, remonstrance, and invective.

> The blood will follow where the knife is driven,
> The flesh will quiver where the pincers tear,
> And sighs and cries by nature grow on pain.

It is beyond the power of tyranny itself, to inflict a wound and please the wounded. The victims of injustice will continue as long as human nature is human nature *malignè ferrum accipere.*

Now, as to the second assurance, that moderation would be more likely to disarm all opposition to the claims of the Catholics, than the tone of indignation, and even menace, in which they have often indulged, I frankly confess that I do not believe it. My distrust is grounded on experience. A review of the conduct of those who make such assurances, and indeed of Parliament and Government itself, would lead, I fear, to the very opposite conclusion.

Without reverting to 1792 and 1793 (when the same prayer that had been contumeliously thrown over the bar, though modestly preferred in time of peace, was granted on the eve of a war, and while a convention of demagogues was sitting to enforce it), the case of the English Roman Catholics is quite sufficient to demonstrate the insincerity of these professions of their opponents. They never indulged in intemperate language—they have been uniformly loyal and peaceable. During the most pressing periods of the war with France, they were active and forward in supporting the Government, as far as the misplaced jealousy of the laws would permit them; and farther than was by those laws required of them. You would suppose, therefore, that, as distinguished from Irish Roman Catholics, they would be the objects of special favour; you would infer, from the present language of the *Exclusionists*, that, if not from generosity or gratitude, from policy, at least, or with a view of inculcating on the Irish the advantages of moderation and forbearance, the English Catholics, whose quiet demeanour formed such a contrast to the turbulent demagogues of Ireland, would

be rewarded with some signal benefits, and distinguished by some peculiar privileges and countenance. At least, you would be confident, that if not so distinguished, the only reason assigned for an indiscriminate exclusion, would be the difficulty of separating their case from that of the Irish, and the inconvenience and anomaly of establishing one law for the Catholic Dissenters of one part of the empire, and another for the other. But all these conjectures, founded on sense, reason, and consistency, are contradicted by the fact. The anomaly subsists; but it subsists the other way. The turbulent Irish Catholic is entitled, *by law*, to vote at elections; the peaceable English Catholic is debarred of that privilege, if either candidate or freeholder object to him. The Irish Catholic may be a magistrate, the English cannot; and the latter, so far from being favoured, is not admitted to many valuable privileges, which the Irishman has obtained in moments of irritation and menace.

An attempt was recently made to place the English Roman Catholics on the same footing as the Irish. Lord Liverpool and the Archbishop of Canterbury supported the Bill; yet

it was rejected; and such miserable part of it only, as was necessary to accomplish the consolidation of the revenue boards of the two countries, was with difficulty extorted, by the influence of the Treasury, from those who *now* affect to be open to reason and supplication, but deaf to all intimidation and reproach. With such facts before him, can any sober man believe, that the failure of the Catholic Question is owing to the intemperate language of the Association? Is it likely, that any demagogue therein will be deterred, by the hope of conciliating such adversaries, from uttering the inflammatory speeches of which we complain? Nay, what is infinitely more important and serious,—is he likely to infer, from experience of the past, that any asperity of language, actual confusion, or foreign war, would retard the accomplishment of his objects? Irish history, and English law, teach him, alas! a very different lesson.

One word on another, and a yet more delicate topic, the late conversions from popery, or, as it is styled by some, the new reformation in Ireland. It has been somewhat unaccountably introduced into all our debates;

but, in my judgment, it bears very little relation to the political question, and if any, only such as furnishes an additional motive for the removal of all political distinctions between the members of the two conflicting sects.—I acknowledge that I have myself little faith in these conversions. I doubt the extent—I doubt the sincerity of them —I doubt yet more strongly the policy, prudence, or safety of the attempt, or of the ostentatious triumph with which its partial success is announced. I concur in that respect with Dr. Lawrence, Archbishop of Cashel, who, in his late charge to the Clergy of Munster, observes, that "whether or not the interests of *Protestantism* would be benefited by a proceeding of this nature (meaning an attempt on both sides to make proselytes) may be *dubious*; but it must be *certain*, that the interests of *Christianity* would be considerably injured by it." I refer you with confidence to that excellent composition. It is such as well becomes the brother of the late Dr. Lawrence, of Doctors' Commons, one of the most learned, upright, and able men, that ever enlightened the profession to which he belonged, or ever sup-

plied his contemporaries in public life with useful knowledge and wisdom, from the stores of a retentive memory and comprehensive understanding.

It is true, another very eminent Prelate is understood to have recognised, in this great work of conversion, the "finger of God." His exertions, however, against the political claims of the Roman Catholics, appear to me at variance with any such persuasion. A person convinced of such an interference of Providence, cannot consistently dread the machinations of the Romish Church. If the long-expected season of reformation and light is arrived, why continue the penal laws? Surely the finger of God cannot require the aid of the 30th of Charles II. If the conversion is to be effected by ordinary human means, the removal of all grounds of worldly enmity, and an increased intercourse in the fellowship of political life, are more likely to reconcile the jarring opinions of the two sects, or to bring one to acquiesce in the opinions of the other, than the continuance of hostility on other topics, and an irremoveable line of political demarcation between them. If, on the other hand, the

zealous promoters of this work are persuaded that it is about to be accomplished by divine interposition, it is impossible—it would be impious in them to suppose that a harsh, uncharitable human law can be necessary or useful to accomplish the designs of the Deity. If the exercise of spiritual power for carnal and political purposes, which we are so ready to impute to the Popish Priesthood, be, as we call it, Impiety; so the enactment of, or adherence to, penal and human laws for the spiritual purposes of converting, reclaiming, or enlightening, is *Persecution* even in the very limited sense which the *Exclusionists* would fain annex to that word*. But it is curious to hear the missionaries of our faith talk of the late endeavours to convert the Irish Roman Catholics, as a new

* They studiously confine the meaning of the word *Persecution* to any compulsory conformity with the Established Church, any interference with religious worship, and any actual punishment for religious observances or opinions. To deny a man political power, or the capacity of obtaining it, is, according to them, no punishment, and therefore no persecution. But political power, or at least a capacity of obtaining it, is in truth only another phrase for political liberty. It will hardly be maintained, in a free country, that, to deprive a citizen of his political

and unheard of experiment. It has been tried again and again, and has failed. What was the object of the hateful penal code, but to enforce such conversions, by enticing

liberty, is not to punish him. The best writers consider it as a punishment, and so do our laws. Several statutes inflict an incapacity of holding offices, or serving the Crown or the people, as a punishment for a heinous offence. The House of Lords, on a celebrated occasion, sanctioned (though not, it must be acknowledged, with any reference to Roman Catholics) the abstract principle, that the "*punishment of a total incapacity is the heaviest next to loss of life;" and that "†nothing but a crime of a detestable nature ought to put an Englishman under a disqualification to serve his prince and country." It follows, that the exclusion is a punishment, and being a punishment founded on, and arising from certain religious opinions, it must be *Persecution.* The term has consequently been applied to tests and disqualifications by the greatest masters of language, and most enlightened advocates of religious liberty: but its meaning was never more luminously defined, or more pathetically enforced, than in a short explanation given by the good and venerable Bishop of Norwich, in his place in Parliament, on the 16th March, 1827. "He was taught," he said, "in early life, by better and wiser men than any now living, that *every penalty, every restriction, every disadvantage, every inconvenience imposed upon an individual, on account of his religion, was Persecution.*"

* Journals, February 1702.

† Journals, January 1702.

men, by every worldly inducement, to abandon, and by deterring them, by every worldly disadvantage, from adhering to, their faith? How is the exclusion from Parliament and high offices only to produce a change which the prospect of obtaining property, and the dread of incurring loss and personal degradation, and, in some cases, corporal punishment, outlawry, imprisonment, and even death could not atchieve? Can the dregs of that bitter code effect what the first sprightly runnings could never accomplish? The armies of Cromwell and William, though they subdued, could not extirpate the Irish race; nor could the zeal and persecution of Queen Anne's time change their religion. It is surely time to try a new experiment,—to adopt a more obvious, as well as a more humane system,—to endeavour to reconcile by good treatment, by equal laws, and by a full admission to the benefits of the Constitution, a people whom our sword has failed to exterminate, and our Church, backed as she has been by power, tests, exclusions, and penalties, has equally failed to convert.

There is one circumstance about the praise so loudly bestowed on these recent conver-

sions, which, I confess, I cannot reconcile to any principle of consistency or fair reasoning. When the question of the removal of the remaining disabilities was formerly agitated, the merits and demerits of the Roman Catholic religion were canvassed more narrowly than the nature of the question, in my poor judgment, either required or justified. But I remember, that one of the charges most successfully urged against the Church of Rome was, her spirit of proselytism, her activity in making converts, and her ostentation in proclaiming them. Now, I presume, what is reprehensible in one Church, cannot be commendable in another. Either our boasted zeal in conversions is liable to the censures we so liberally bestowed upon theirs, and, in that case, our success must not be presumptuously alleged as proof of the truth of our doctrine, or our condemnation of them must be retracted, and the success of such endeavours as they have made, or may hereafter make for a similar purpose, must be admitted, *pro tanto*, as an argument in favour of their faith. What prudent man would place the question on such an issue? What endless enmities and discord would ensue, if

the zealous on both sides should be invited and encouraged to molest each other with perpetual controversies, and alternate triumphs on religious subjects?

But be that as it will, I think, on impartial consideration, it must be allowed, that if the work of reformation is to proceed, it will advance more steadily when all is smooth and calm, than in the midst of turbulence and animosity on political questions. The repeal of the exclusion-laws may assist—it cannot retard its progress; a Papist may throw off his cloak of error and superstition in sunshine or in shelter; but, exposed to the buffets of the storm, and turned from your door with heartless indifference, he naturally, and necessarily clings to it as his only refuge and best protection.

I have acknowledged, that I expect little from these conversions in any case; but yet I think it clear, that they are more likely to be numerous, and less likely to be injurious to the peace of society, when the political disabilities are removed, than while they are in force. If, indeed, that great act of wisdom and justice were accomplished, there is one species of conversion to which I should look

with real confidence—I mean, the silent and imperceptible, but beneficial conversion of zeal to charity. Many a fanatical Papist would, I am persuaded, become a reasonable Roman Catholic; and if some few evangelical Protestants should drop the harsh fruit which they gather from the brambles of controversy, for the more ordinary spiritual food which all Christians may partake, I do not believe that the cause of religion would suffer, and I am satisfied that of civil society and peace would gain by the exchange.

I have not touched upon those manifold reasons connected with general principles of justice, with the particular nature and spirit of our constitution, or with the transactions, remote or recent, of our history, which loudly call upon us to provide for the peace and happiness of the Empire, by fulfilling all implied engagements, and by restoring, both to the Crown and to the people, their ancient prerogatives and privileges.—I have omitted to do so, because I know you are disposed to acknowledge the validity of such arguments; and because I am sure you will find them enforced, with an eloquence and

an authority which I cannot pretend to command, in the writings of Paley and of Burke, and in the speeches of Fox, Pitt, Windham, Lawrence, Romilly, Elliot, Grenville, and Grattan; and, indeed, of every English statesman, dead or living, who, for these last thirty years, has enjoyed any reputation for mingling philosophy, or exercising judgment or foresight, in his general views of legislation or policy.

My task has been confined to a few strictures on some popular topics, which have lately started up as objections to that great measure contemplated by the framers of the Union, and considered as ultimately inevitable by all who are anxious to maintain, improve, and complete the objects of that act.

I have not denied, that some hostility to the Established Church may be felt by those who have lately petitioned for a restoration of their political rights; but I have contended,—1*st.* that such hostility may have been created, and must be aggravated, by the rejection of their prayer; *2dly*, that the only rational hope of mitigating it, and indeed the best chance of defeating it, is by a conces-

sion of such points as may, by possibility, weaken the will, and cannot increase the means, of annoyance they already possess.

I have furthermore ventured to question the wisdom and the sincerity of some of the arguments and pretences, as well as the prudence, of some of the proceedings of the most active antagonists of the petitioners. The hope, for instance, of extinguishing inflammatory harangues and publications, as long as a large body of men, in full enjoyment of the freedom of speech, and of the press, are excluded from office and Parliament, I have shewn to be visionary and impracticable. Such warfare must continue, at all risks, till the provocation ceases, or till the weapons, provided by the Constitution for repelling it, are removed. In other words, we must choose between anarchy and despotism, if we are determined not to try conciliation.

I have argued, that those *Exclusionists* who declaim against the violence of the Catholic demagogues, do themselves provide for the continuance of the evil which they affect to deplore. I have proved, that their alleged disposition to treat with greater favour those who supplicate, than those who remonstrate

or menace, is belied by the whole tenor of their actions; namely, by the frequent concessions they have made in the moments of distress, turbulence, and danger, and by their uniform and contumelious rejection of all requests, preferred in periods of comparative tranquillity, and in terms of humility and submission.

The conversions, or new reformation (which, it has been hinted, may supersede the necessity of concession), I have ventured to consider as entirely irrelevant to the great political question—as more likely, however, to be assisted than impeded by the admission of the objects of them to a full political fellowship with their countrymen—as hazardous, in all cases, to the harmony of civil society—and, so long as unjust political exclusions subsist, as dangerous to the peace and safety of the country.

I sat down to write a short Letter—I have written a tedious treatise; but, should there be any thing in it that can directly, or indirectly, tend to remove a doubt in your candid mind, and to confirm you in an opinion which you are too charitable a man and too good an Englishman not to

wish to entertain, my time has not been entirely mis-spent.

At any rate you will, with your usual good-nature, receive it as a proof of my earnestness in this great cause, and of my sincere desire to concur with one, for whom I feel so much regard and esteem as yourself.

I am, my Dear Sir,

Truly Your's,

VASSALL HOLLAND.

New Burlington Street,
25th March, 1827.

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A

SHORT LETTER

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

GEORGE CANNING,

&c. &c. &c.

ON THE

PRESENT POSITION

OF THE

Roman Catholic Question.

BY

REV. HENRY PHILLPOTTS, D.D.

RECTOR OF STANHOPE.

SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXXVII.

A

SHORT LETTER

TO

THE RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING.

SIR,

IT is so highly interesting to Protestants to know the exact position, which their cause now holds,—and the influence which your opinions and conduct must have upon it is obviously so important,—that I shall offer no apology for endeavouring to ascertain what is the *last* determination which you have formed upon this subject. For this purpose, I will take the liberty of examining a few leading particulars in the speeches which you have delivered in Parliament since I before had the honour of addressing you: and it is with as much satisfaction to myself, as it can be to my readers, that I hope to comprise all that I shall say on the present occasion within a very narrow compass.

And, first, I cannot but express the gratification, which I have felt, as a humble but zealous advocate of the Protestant Cause, in perusing several passages of the speech which you made in the House of Commons on Tuesday last. In particular, I rejoiced to read what follows:— "He (Mr. Canning) was prepared to say, that "he would not prematurely stir up the feelings "of the people of England for a theoretic, "though essential good. He expected the dawn "of a better day, but he would not precipitate "its appearance. He knew that the present "darkness would (and he hoped speedily) be "succeeded by a light which would illuminate "the prospect; and, knowing this, he would "not, for the sake of freedom of conscience, "force the conscience of others.—(*Cheers.*) *He "spoke out thus plainly his intentions.*"

Sir, I need not say, that I am one of those who are involved in this darkness, which you venture to predict will be so speedily dispelled. Our number is, at present, very large, and it is our pride, our boast, the theme of our grateful, heartfelt, acknowledgment, that our Sovereign himself has been pleased expressly and solemnly to place himself at our head. With a firmness and determination worthy of the illustrious stock from which he is descended, with

the frankness and manly candour becoming the King of a free people, with due veneration for that pure faith, of which he is the hereditary and the sworn defender, he has been pleased to allay every uncomfortable surmise, which the selection of you, as his chief minister, must otherwise have caused. He has voluntarily announced to the most exalted members of our hierarchy, for the information of their brethren, and through them, of the people at large, that he is unalterably attached to the religion of his fathers,—that he sees and will repel the danger which must follow the removal of those safeguards, with which the wisdom of our ancestors (a phrase of which I am not yet ashamed) has fenced and protected our Protestant Church,—*and that the Oath which he took at his coronation*, has bound him for ever to reject every specious pretence of political expediency, which may be urged to divert him from his purpose. I repeat, that this assurance, so solemnly given, far more than counterbalances any apprehension, which the apparent triumph of the cause of liberalism in several recent appointments would otherwise excite.

Sir, I am only doing an act of justice to you, in acknowledging, that nothing can be more

gratifying, or more satisfactory, than the manner in which you accommodate yourself to this new state of things; and I cannot but augur from it the happiest results to the public tranquillity. "You are now prepared to say that you will "*not prematurely* stir up the feelings of the "people of England." Nay further, and to evince the entire sincerity with which you speak, you are pleased to characterize the object itself, at which you have so long been aiming, as merely "a *theoretic*, though essential good." That this description contains some very sound and important meaning, I have not the smallest doubt; but it is probably a consequence of that thick darkness in which I am involved, that I am unable to perceive how a merely "theoretic" good can, at the same time, be "essential." I am still more unable to comprehend, how that which we have often heard described by you, as the greatest *practical* evil which can afflict the land, that which was "persecution," two years ago, and "oppression" two months ago, is now only a *theoretic* evil, which may well wait on your convenience for its cure. In truth, my difficulty becomes the greater when I take any retrospect, however brief, of your language or your conduct on this question. For instance—

so lately as on the 7th of March last, you supported with much apparent warmth, and, I doubt not, with the most entire sincerity, the following motion of Sir Francis Burdett:—"That this "House is impressed with the *necessity* of taking "into *immediate* consideration the laws inflicting penalties on his Majesty's Roman Catholic "subjects, *with the view of removing them.*" So earnest were you in enforcing the propriety of acceding to this motion, that you scrupled not to assure the House, that the very same measure had been repeatedly adopted before. In particular, you were pleased to say, and to taunt the Master of the Rolls for his ignorance in not knowing, that in 1812 you had carried, by the largest majority ever obtained on this question, "a resolution, which was *nearly the same* as "that proposed by the Honourable Baronet, with "this difference, that, as it was then drawing "near the conclusion of the session, your reso-"lution, in 1812, pledged the House to take "these laws into consideration early the next "session."

Sir, my own recollection of the tenor of your motion in 1812, differed so widely from what you were pleased to say respecting it, that, in order to satisfy myself, I did that which I am accustomed to do in similar cases, I referred to au-

thoritative documents, and in the Votes of the House of Commons, under date of June 22d, 1812, I found the following:—

"That this House will, early in the next session of parliament, take into its consideration "the state of the laws affecting his Majesty's "Roman Catholic subjects in Great Britain and "Ireland; with a view to such a final and *conciliatory* adjustment as may be conducive to "the peace and strength of the United Kingdom, *to the stability of the Protestant Establishment*, and to THE GENERAL SATISFACTION "AND CONCORD OF ALL CLASSES OF HIS MAJESTY'S SUBJECTS."

Such was the resolution adopted by the House in 1812, and of which you affirm, that it was *the same* in substance (bating the difference arising from the different periods of the two sessions) with that of Sir Francis Burdett, which declared "the necessity of taking into immediate consideration the laws inflicting penalties on his "Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, with the "view of removing them."

To men of plain understanding,—to those, at least, who are involved in that darkness, which you are at present too wise to attempt to remove,—these two resolutions appear to convey meanings of a very opposite character. And if

it were otherwise possible to confound them, yet the circumstances under which they were severally proposed, and the speeches with which they were introduced, would make the discrepancy between them still more striking. You, Sir, in 1812, were the advocate of concession to men, who had previously, in their petitions to both Houses of Parliament, declared, "that any "arrangement founded on the basis of mutual "satisfaction and security, and extending to "them the full enjoyment of the civil constitu-"tion of their country, will meet with their "grateful concurrence;" and in pleading their cause, you were forward to proclaim, that "the "condition of security to the Protestant Church "was absolutely *indispensable*."

Sir Francis Burdett, on the contrary, contended for the necessity of yielding to the claims of those, who, in their numerous petitions presented to your Honourable House, expressly avowed their demand for the "total, *un-*"*conditional, unqualified* repeal of all the laws "imposing on them any disability." And the Honourable Baronet, faithful as he always is to the cause which he supports, and with the singleness of purpose and frankness of language which become an English gentleman, urged the House, in terms of the strongest import, to listen to the prayers of the petitioners,—in other words, to

grant this total, unconditional, unqualified repeal. Such, Sir, was the character of the resolution, which you gravely tell us was nearly the same with your own in 1812, and from the rejection of which, if it should be rejected, you felt it your duty to warn the House, that "*consequences must be expected to follow, which words were not adequate to express.*"

It seems, however, that this proposition, rejected by a majority of your House in spite of this awful warning, was "but two months "dead,—nay, not so much, not two," when you discovered, that it may with perfect justice, with perfect security, and, above all, with perfect convenience, be suffered to remain defunct *ad Græcas Calendas.* I rejoice that you have come to this conclusion, and I earnestly wish that you may long continue to act upon it. I rejoice, too, that a pious, but not very confident, hope, expressed by you on the 7th of March, is in the course of being fulfilled.—"He (Mr. "Canning) trusted that the failure of this measure, if it should fail, will be received by those "who will be sufferers by that event with tranquil resignation, rather than in any unseemly "manner. God send it may be so! *God grant "us time for considering this question! for he "could not get rid of the impression which was "avowed by him on the last occasion on which this*

" *question was before the House,—that the longer*
" *its settlement is deferred, the more danger will*
" *such delay involve!*"

Sir, though I do not profess to perceive, exactly, the connexion of cause and effect, in your prayer for time and the reason on which it is here founded, yet I am unwilling to ascribe the inaccuracy to yourself; I will rather suppose that some misapprehension of the Reporter has produced this seeming inconsequence:—but at any rate, enough, I think, is manifest, to make ordinary men, after hearing or reading what you then said, marvel a little in meeting with the following passage in your speech of Tuesday last; " I look alone for the progress of the Ca-
" tholic Cause to the good sense and good feel-
" ing of the people of both countries (*hear,*
" *hear*). And that progress can only be *re-*
" *tarded by any inconsiderate effort to provoke*
" *opinion* among one class, or stifle it with the
" opposite, *at the risk of a convulsion* in one or
" the other part of the United Kingdom (*hear,*
" *hear*). I freely avow, I am not prepared to
" precipitate convulsion in either, therefore *I*
" *will not raise hopes* that might be marred, *nor*
" *hold out too sanguine expectations, without see-*
" *ing a moral prospect of their being realized.*"
—" Much, then, as I value carrying this mea-

" sure for the tranquillity of Ireland,—and I " estimate it at a very high rate,—I will not " provoke, even for that purpose, the sort of " *passive resistance,* which might, I fear, be " aroused in this country (*hear, hear*);—*against* " *that feeling I confess I am not prepared to* " *run.*"—" *Let me, then, hear no more of the ac-* " *cusation, that I mean to press this question* " *sternly upon the feelings of Englishmen.* If " I were asked, whether I think their prejudices " upon this point have slept?—I would say, I " believe *it is a sleep from which, if prematurely* " *aroused, they might be awoke with gigantic* " *strength.*"

Now all this, " though I most powerfully and " potently believe" it, and though I cannot but think it infinitely wiser and more becoming an English statesman, than the violent, and (pardon me, when I say it,) almost inflammatory language and sentiment in which you indulged on the two immediately preceding discussions,—yet, I own, it excites my admiration. I admire,—not that your uncommon vigour of intellect should improve every passing event, and turn it to the best account,—not that you should grow wiser, as you grow older;—but that you should grow so very much wiser in so very short a space of time;—above all, that you should, apparently

without any effort, attain at once to that highest point of human wisdom, the power of knowing and acknowledging that you have been in error; the capacity, in short, of eating up, at a single mouthful, every unwise or mischievous sentiment you may have expressed on a great question of national policy during half of your political life,—and, after the most grievous and the wildest aberrations, should return to the very point of sober discretion from which you started fifteen years ago. This it is which chiefly excites my admiration, and which, in my humble opinion, places you quite alone among statesmen,—far above all comparison with any of the vulgar herd of politicians of whom I have ever read or heard.

Sir,—In the tone and temper which you now exhibit, I anticipate nothing but gratification on your part, when I venture to refute a mistatement (doubtless unintentional) in your speech of March the 7th, on a point pretty nearly connected with your present views of the Roman Catholic question.

It had not, I believe, escaped your notice, that, at p. 35 of my former Letter to you, I ventured to remind you, that, in May 1813, you had expressly declared, that " if the boon proffered " by Parliament" (the Bill of that year for re-

moving the disabilities of the Roman Catholics, on certain conditions, and with certain securities) "should be contumaciously refused, you "were firmly determined to *take your stand* "*against the Catholics*, the same as if you had "never stood forward their advocate." I ventured, too,—having first shown that the Roman Catholics did refuse to accept the Bill—that they did so before they could be apprised of its failure in Parliament—and that this failure was in part caused by the early declared opposition of the Roman Catholics to the securities provided by the Bill,—having, I say, shown this, I ventured to call on you to redeem your pledge.

In alluding to this matter in Parliament, on the 7th of March last, you were pleased to give an indignant contradiction of these facts,—and to say, that the securities, provided by you in the Bill of 1813, failed, because the late Speaker of the House of Commons opposed the clause for giving seats in Parliament to the Roman Catholics, *not because the Roman Catholic ecclesiastics expressed any distaste of them.* "Is "it not," you exclaimed, "human nature, is "not every day's experience, when a scheme "or bargain fails, to say that you were not satis- "fied with the terms, and to retract the conces- "sions which you might have before been willing

" to make? If a man is buying a house, he " offers a price which is refused, and he after- " wards is unwilling to admit that he offered " such a price. With confusion of history, " which, in the light thrown on it by the Right " Honourable Gentleman, is strange, he says that " the (Roman) Catholic prelates refused what " was never offered to them."

I am here, it is evident, in the very unpleasant predicament, of being opposed to you on a matter of fact; but this unpleasantness is greatly lessened by my finding from your speech of Tuesday night, that it will be really an assistance to you, in your present state of feeling towards the Roman Catholics, to satisfy you that I was right, and that you were wrong; that, in truth, the promise which you gave in 1813, and the fulfilment of which would be now far from inconvenient to you, is still in full force.

I say, then, Sir,—and I challenge the utmost rigour of inquiry into the accuracy of the statements which I make,—that the Roman Catholic Prelates in Ireland, when they rejected the proposed securities as utterly inadmissible, did not, and could not, know, that the Bill containing them was rejected in the House of Commons. The vote of rejection passed on the morning of the 25th of May; the Meeting of the Prelates in Dublin, at which the Securities were refused,

was on the very following day: it was, therefore, physically impossible that they should be apprised of the loss of the Bill. But, further, the sentiments of the Roman Catholics were, in part, *declared against the Bill,* before it was rejected; and, as I have said on a former occasion, and have just now repeated, their opposition to it was one of the declared causes of its rejection. This I shall beg leave to prove by reference to the speech of the late Speaker of the House of Commons, on opposing in the Committee that clause of your Bill, which gave to the Roman Catholics admission to Parliament.

" Now that this Bill, with all its amended and " incorporated provisions, is before us, does it " appear that the basis of general satisfaction " and concord is likely to be established? What " say the Roman Catholics of Ireland? Have " the Roman Catholic laity, and their Catholic " Board (the hitherto avowed and accredited " organ of their sentiments) declared their ap- " probation of this Bill? Certainly not. And so " far as we do know of their proceedings, some " of their most distinguished leaders, and aux- " iliary delegates, have, in their successive meet- " ings, most vehemently declaimed against it.

" The Roman Catholic clergy, on their part, " also cry aloud against its ecclesiastical provi- " sions. The Roman Catholic Metropolitan

" Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Troy, has declared " them to be worse than the old Veto. And a " vicar apostolic in England, who presides epis- " copally over the Midland district, and is him- " self the agent for all the Roman Catholic pre- " lates of Ireland, has denounced them as *what* " *all Roman Catholics must abhor, and has de-* " *clared to the world that, sooner than accept them,* " *they will lay down their lives on the scaffold.*"

From all this, Sir, it is, I submit, perfectly clear, that your old pledge remains unredeemed; and that by redeeming it now, " by taking " your stand against the Roman Catholics," you would fulfil an ancient engagement, while, at the same time, you would consult for present convenience. But if direct opposition to the Roman Catholics, now, would be rather too strong a course,—as, considering all that has passed since the pledge was given, you might fairly suggest it to be,—an adherence to your latest promise ought perhaps to content us. " You will not provoke that passive resistance " which might, you fear, be raised among the " Protestants in this country;" " against that " feeling you are not prepared to run;" " *you* " *will suffer our prejudices to sleep at present,* " *for you believe it is a sleep, from which, if* " *prematurely aroused, they might be awoke with* " *gigantic strength.*"

The extent to which this promise goes, will be made more fully apparent before I have done. Meanwhile, I may be allowed to remind you, that the particular to which I have just referred, is not the only one in which you have attained to a truer knowledge of the facts, and bearings of the facts, in this great question, since it was last discussed. In the debate on the 6th of March, the learned Member for the city of Dublin had given as a reason for requiring further securities against the Roman Catholics than merely an oath, "that the Constitution was not "satisfied with that security, even in the case of "the King; that, besides the restraint imposed "by the Coronation Oath, which bound him to "maintain the Protestant Established Church, "further cautions were taken to secure his ob-"servance of this prime duty."

The argument is, I submit, very sound, and very judicious; at any rate, it did not appear likely to excite, in a sober mind, any inclination to taunt and ridicule. But, at that time, the bare mention of the Coronation Oath was enough to shake your mind "from its pro-"priety;" accordingly you came down to the House the following night, and permitted yourself to give vent to the following not very appropriate, and—considering the place which you held, both in the public estimation, and still more

in the councils of your Sovereign,—somewhat startling remark: " There was an argument " brought forward by an Honourable Gentle- " man last night which, I confess, I heard with " some amazement. The Honourable Gentle- " man is, I believe, new to this House, other- " wise I think he must have known, that *the* " *day of the Coronation Oath is gone by.* If he " had not been quite new, he would hardly have " brought it forward as a final and conclusive " argument—that the Crown could not grant " fresh concessions to the Catholics without a " violation of the Coronation Oath. I like to go " to high places for high arguments, and therefore " I have great pleasure in setting his mind en- " tirely at ease, by reading an extract from the " Speech of Lord Liverpool in 1825: ' He could " ' not consider the Coronation Oath as any ob- " ' stacle to the removal of the civil and politi- " ' cal disabilities of the (Roman) Catholics. " ' The oath was an oath to protect the Estab- " ' lished Church and Clergy of the Realm. The " ' removal of the disabilities might possibly " ' affect that Church, but it could only do so " ' consequentially. Many wise and good men " ' were of opinion, that it would strengthen " ' the Church; and if Parliament presented a " ' Bill to the King for his acceptance, grounded

" ' upon this assumption, he did not see how
" ' the King could be advised to consider it as
" ' at variance with the obligations of the Oath
" ' he had taken.' I hope," you continued, " at
" least, *one bugbear is disposed of, and we shall*
" *hear no more of the Coronation Oath.*"

Need I say, Sir, that in this hope you have been disappointed, I will not say cruelly, but most bitterly disappointed? Among the numerous incidents of the few eventful weeks which have elapsed since that debate, certainly not the least interesting, nor the least momentous, is the revived importance which the Coronation Oath has been made to assume even in your estimation. That Oath is no longer a mere " bugbear" to you;—" its day," as you have recently felt and acknowledged, is very far indeed from having " gone by."

But this is a matter so pregnant with mighty consequences, that I must be permitted to consider it a little more at large.

The opinion of the revered nobleman whose words have just been cited, was evidently founded on the terms of the Coronation Oath, as prescribed by 1 Will. and Mary, c. 6. That this oath has by a subsequent statute received some important additions, I shall have occasion to show presently. Meanwhile, it cannot escape observation, that the noble Lord's judgment on

the question includes one very important condition. The oath, it is true, creates no *absolute* and *specific* prohibition of the partial, or entire, removal of the disabilities under which the Roman Catholics now lie. It protects the Established Church and Clergy, but it ought not to be contended, that every measure is thereby forbidden, which may be fraught with contingent and consequential mischief to them, provided that such mischief be bonâ fide *unforeseen and unapprehended* by him who takes the oath. In the instance of the proposed measure, "many "wise and good men," says Lord Liverpool, "are of opinion, that *it would strengthen the* "*Church;* and if Parliament presented a Bill to "the King, *grounded upon this assumption*, I do "not see how the King could be advised to "consider it as at variance with the obligations "of the oath which he had taken." From this opinion, so guarded, it is not probable that many persons would be found to dissent. The advisers of the Crown, whatever might be their own opinions of the probable consequences of such a Bill, if Parliament presented it as a measure of security for the Church, (or even, it might be added, as free from all danger to the Church,) would not, perhaps, be justified in advising the exercise of the royal negative, on

the ground of the Bill's being at variance with the Coronation Oath.

But this, as I am sure you, Sir, cannot but perceive, leaves the most important consideration in the case wholly untouched. *The Oath taken by the King, is a purely personal act; it is an act between himself and God.* To apply to it our little, convenient, political, or legal fictions,—to talk of "the omnipotence of Parliament," as enabling it to annul, or dispense with, the Oath of the Sovereign,—to speak gravely of "a "Keeper of the King's Conscience,"—to say, "that as "the King can do no wrong," as all his questionable acts must be regarded as the acts of his ministers, therefore they must direct him in such a case as this,—would be more foolish, even than it would be presumptuous. He might, and probably he would, communicate with those persons—whether his political ministers, or *others*—on whose counsel he places most reliance, in an affair of so great spiritual and conscientious moment to him; but it would be the grossest insult to the Monarch, it would be degrading him from the rank of a moral being, to suppose that he would regard the advice of such counsellors, be they who they may, as acquitting him of the awful responsibility of acting in such a case on the deliberate determination of his own conscience. Every Sovereign, duly impressed

with the solemn nature of the obligation of his oath, (as, thank God, our own gracious Sovereign has eminently proved himself to be,) would feel that that oath bound him,—as he values the favour of God, and the promise of that "Crown im-"mortal," before which his earthly diadem fades into a worthless toy,—to decide for himself, whether the Bill, offered to his acceptance, do indeed contain provisions at variance with one of the great and expressed objects of his Oath, with "the maintenance, *to the utmost of his power*, of "the laws of God, the true profession of the Gos-"pel, and the Protestant Reformed Religion esta-"blished by law." The minister who should dare to tell his Sovereign, that he is exempt from this duty, that he may act on the conscience of his Parliament, or of his Privy Council, instead of his own, in such a case—I will go further, and will say, that the minister who should dare to treat the Coronation Oath, in the presence of his Sovereign, with half the levity with which which you have thought it not unbecoming to treat it in your place in Parliament,—would bring on himself a responsibility, which no honest man would incur for all that Kings and Parliaments can give or take away.

Sir, that ever-to-be-lamented minister, whose place you now fill, was not accustomed so to regard these matters. He never spoke of them

without being duly impressed with the solemn nature of his subject. Instead of sneering at the Coronation Oath as "a bugbear," instead of saying that "its day was gone by," he, *in the very passage of the speech from which you quote a part*, recognized its great, its enduring, its practical importance. He went the whole length of warning his noble auditors (honoured be his memory for the manly declaration!) that even if Parliament should pass a Bill founded on a Resolution which had been adopted by the Lower House, *it became them to consider, whether the King could consent to establish it by law, consistently with the obligation of his Coronation Oath.* The Resolution was as follows: "That it is expedient that provision should be "made by law for the maintenance of the se- "cular Clergy of the Roman Catholics in Ire- "land:" and on it Lord Liverpool said, "The "(Roman) Catholic Church in Ireland professes "to be a national, and not a missionary Church. "The bishoprics and parishes were the same, or "nearly so, as the bishoprics and parishes of "the Established Church. The (Roman) Ca- "tholic Bishops claim a parity of spiritual juris- "diction with the Bishops of the Establishment, "—their parish Priests claim a parity of spiritual "rights and duties with the parochial Clergy of "the Establishment. It was for Parliament,

" therefore, seriously to consider, whether the " King could consent to establish by law such a " Church as that now claiming to exist in Ire- " land, under the designation of the Irish Roman " Catholic Church, consistently with the obli- " gation—'to preserve unto the Bishops and " 'Clergy of this realm, and to the Churches " 'committed to their charge, all such rights and " 'privileges as by law do, or shall, appertain " 'unto them, or any of them.'"

Such, Sir, were the sentiments and language of your high-minded, conscientious predecessor. May the same spirit of inflexible integrity, hallowed and purified by the same meek and unostentatious piety, still preside over those councils, from which he is now removed! If there shall ever be a successor who is incapable of being influenced by the same exalted feelings, at least may the shame of contrast with so bright an example protect us from witnessing all outrageous violation of his principles! But the wish is a foolish one. It will be better, far better, for us, that, when the righteous spirit shall have fled, (*Dii omen avertant!*) we may at once be warned of the loss, by the exorbitant movements of any evil Genius which may have usurped its place.

But I have said, that Lord Liverpool's view of the Coronation Oath seems to have been limited to the terms of the Oath, as enjoined by 1 W.

and M. c. 6.—and that a very important addition was subsequently made to it. This was done by one of the most solemn acts of legislation recorded in our Statute Book,—the Treaty of Union with Scotland. That Treaty (5 Ann. c. 8.) Art. xxv. recites an Act (5 Ann. c. 5.) entitled "An Act for securing the Church of Eng- "land as by Law Established," and declares it to be an "essential and fundamental part of the "said Articles and Union." But the Act so solemnly recited, s. 7., declares that the 13 Eliz. c. 12. entitled "An Act for the Ministers of the "Church of England to be of sound Religion," and the "Act of Uniformity," and all other Acts of Parliament now in force for the Establishment and Preservation of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall remain and be in full force for ever.

And the next Section enacts, "That every "subsequent King or Queen, at his or her Co- "ronation, shall take and subscribe an oath *to* "*maintain and preserve inviolably the said Set-* "*tlement* of the Church of England, and the "Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Govern- "ment thereof, as by law established, within "the kingdoms of England and *Ireland*."

Sir, when I read the terms in which this oath

is conceived, it is to me a matter of high gratification, most certainly, but of no surprise, that a prince, alive to the most solemn of all obligations, should resolve, as our gracious Sovereign has resolved, never to concur in granting to the Roman Catholic subjects such concessions as they and their advocates in Parliament are accustomed to demand. If indeed such measures were proposed as the conscience of the Sovereign could regard as a real, fair, ample security of the great objects, to the maintenance and preservation of which he is bound by oath, the case would be different; and you would then have the assurance afforded by every act of his illustrious reign, that he would rejoice in extending an equal share of civil and political rights to all his subjects. But who is prepared to offer such securities? You, Sir, have been pleased to proclaim yourself "no Security-grinder!" You have said, in a tone of sneer and banter, which few of your hearers, and still fewer of your readers, have thought particularly appropriate to the occasion, "the task of finding securities to satisfy "these over-scrupulous gentlemen is something "*like the task imposed on the prophet in the Bible,* "*who was not only to find out the interpretation,* "*but to guess at the dream.*" We all remember a person, some years ago, charged with intend-

ing to bring the Scriptures into contempt by his profane application of their language; and he procured an acquittal from the jury by adducing instances of similar irreverence (among others) from some of your juvenile productions. Are you desirous that a future Hone shall be able to cite in his defence the graver authority of your addresses to Parliament, at your present mature age, and in the character of Minister of the Crown?

But I am unwilling to dwell on such a topic, and return to your remarks on the question before me. "*If they* (the opponents of the Ro-" man Catholic Claims)—*if they feel danger, let* " *them find the securities.* It is a little too " much to suppose that we are first to guess at " the danger, and then fit the security to it."

Sir, I need not tell you that this point was not mooted for the first time on the 7th of March last. Several years ago, a Speaker in your House, of whom, in common with a large portion of my countrymen, I was then a warm admirer, made upon it the following very judicious remark.—" Is it not a little extraordinary, that " Protestants should be expected to be of one " mind as to granting every thing to the (Roman) " Catholics, when such a discordance of opinion " reigns among the (Roman) Catholics them-

" selves as to the terms on which such grant " would be acceptable to them? *It has been* " *argued rather whimsically, that the granting* " *party should be prepared to offer terms to the* " *petitioning party: but surely it is for those* " *who seek a concession in their own favour, to* " *propose those means of security, and those terms* " *of arrangement, without which, it is admitted* " *on all hands, that concession could not be ra-* " *tionally made.*"—The Speaker, of whose words I have here availed myself, is one with whom, if I may venture to judge from your most recent effusions, you are very far indeed from being on so good terms as your best friends would wish —It was the Right Honourable George Canning, of May 25, 1810, a gentleman, from whose speeches, about that period, it would be easy to adduce arguments in direct contradiction to almost every thing you have said on this subject during the last ten years, up to the epoch of your return to sounder views on the night of Tuesday last.

To one of the most important and most gratifying of all your declarations on that memorable night, I shall now beg leave to advert. It is as follows: " When I am taunted " with thwarting the views of my Sovereign by " an honourable member, who has not feared to

" enter the very penetralia of the Royal breast,
" to probe the speculative opinions which rest
" there, my answer is—that *I have not, and will*
" *not, violate the Royal conscience. I will vene-*
" *rate it in the present Sovereign, as I have done*
" *in the late King.*"

Sir, I most heartily thank you for those few important words. They appear to me,—I say it seriously and deliberately,—to have done more for the public tranquillity, more for the security and triumph of the Protestant cause, than all the ablest exertions of all the ablest and most zealous of its advocates have ever achieved. In short, Sir, though I will not offend you, by supposing that you intended such an effect, we owe more to you than to any *subject* in the King's dominions. " You will not violate the Royal
" conscience: you will venerate it in the present
" Sovereign, *as you have done in the late King.*"

If there be anything indefinite, anything ambiguous, in the former part of these words—all is cleared up, all becomes plain and precise in the conclusion. The measure of your promised respect and veneration for the conscience of the present Sovereign, is that which you paid to the conscience of his Royal Father. Now, Sir, *that* —we all remember—was the most perfect and scrupulous forbearance from ever obtruding on his councils, from ever bringing forwards, or

supporting in Parliament, (nay, it included the habitual and constant practice of *voting against,*) a question, on which he had declared himself to be unalterably, conscientiously, religiously resolved, that he would never yield. He had "an oath in Heaven"—and you respected his awful reverence for its obligation. But not to dwell in my own feeble language on the subject, I will avail myself of your eloquent statement of the principles on which you then acted, and on which *you have now promised, in the face of Parliament and of your country, that you will henceforth again act.*

"While there existed in the breast of the "Sovereign an insurmountable obstacle to the "entertainment of this question, an obstacle "not of opinion, but of conscience, the only "alternative left to a public man, who held the "opinions which I profess to have holden, was, "either to push those opinions into action, at all "the hazard to which such a course would be "liable,* or, *manfully to interfere between the con-*"*science of the Sovereign and the agitation of this* "*question,* at whatever risk of unpopularity or mis-"construction. *This latter was the course which I* "*thought it my duty to adopt.*" "Nor is there in "this determination any thing for which I ought

* Here was a reference to the unhappy malady of the late king. See Debates, June the 22d, 1812.

" to apologize, as inconsistent with the strictest " theory or ordinary practice of the constitu- " tion. By the theory of the constitution, the " Sovereign is armed with the power of inter- " posing his negative upon any measure which " he conscientiously disapproves. In the prac- " tice of the constitution, this power has been " actively employed as lately as in the reign of " King William. Had Parliament adopted and " pressed the (Roman) Catholic claims to the " last stage, in the last stage, they might, and " probably would, have been met by this ex- " treme resistance. What advantage, there- " fore, in the trial? But what danger in the " conflict! Better was it, surely, to prevent " an extremity, the results of which might have " been such, as those who are most interested " in the question would themselves have been " the foremost to deprecate." " The Roman " Catholics of Ireland are a loyal people." " If concessions and relaxations in their favour " had arrived at a point beyond which *not the* " *policy, but the conscience of the Monarch* would " not suffer him to go, *they would surely have* " *respected in him those rights of conscience which* " *they claim for themselves.*"

Such, Sir, was the honourable and manly course which you pursued; such the principles on which it was founded. If the assertion of

those principles was mingled with matter peculiar to the unhappy circumstances of our late beloved King, still the principles themselves remain the same; and for your distinct and public promise to act upon them in the case of his present Majesty, for the *pledge* you have thus given, not only *not to press on the royal councils*, but *not again to support, by your voice or vote in Parliament*,—nay, even *to vote against*,—the claims of the Roman Catholics, *during the present reign*, you are, I think, entitled to the thanks of every friend to the monarchy or the religion of your country.

May that reign be as long as the ardent wishes and prayers of a loyal people would make it!—a people attached to their sovereign, not merely by the formal bonds of interest or duty, but by a grateful sense of the benefits which have flowed to them from his wise and hitherto truly British councils! Long, very long may it be, before we fully know the value of his life to us!

Not that I give credit to every sinister rumour, which the malice or folly of the age may delight to spread. If there be, in any quarter, a conscientious conviction that concession to the Roman Catholics, or any other measure, is consistent with the perfect security of the Es-

tablished Church, I honour the firmness which would act on that conviction. But I will not believe on light grounds, that a Personage of the most exalted rank can ever permit himself to indulge in coarse abuse of the Governors of our Church, or indecent threats of his future hostility to their order. I will not believe that any prince of the royal line of Brunswick, so long the bulwark of the Protestant faith, can be a recreant to the most sacred principles of his fathers. I will not believe that a son of George the Third, a brother of George the Fourth, and of Frederic Duke of York, can have forgotten what is the first and highest distinction of his illustrious House—can set at nought the examples both of the dead and of the living—can be insensible to the honest pride of aspiring to some portion of the glory of those whom, in common with all, and more than all, he must be accustomed to reverence and honour.

But I turn from this invidious subject to the gratifying duty of contemplating the results which may fairly be anticipated from your recent engagement.

It is plain, that the benefit which you have thereby conferred, is not limited to your own case. The numerous friends, who are in the habit of deferring to your authority, and not they

alone, but even the powerful and stirring party, which has at length openly joined your standard, have given to the world, if not the same direct and precise pledge,—yet, at least, an implied and virtual promise, to be equally forbearing. They know your engagement, and, knowing it, they still regard your cause as worthy of their strenuous and anxious support; they think that the other great benefits which they anticipate from "the liberal nature of "your principles," and your readiness to accommodate your measures to "the enlightened spi- "rit of the age," will be cheaply purchased by the sacrifice of their Roman Catholic clients. To any remonstrance from those who may think themselves deserted, they have a most satisfactory answer ready. "We find, most unex- "pectedly, (though we cannot deny, that all "the world, except ourselves, considered it a "matter perfectly certain,) that there is an in- "surmountable obstacle to the success of your "cause in the highest quarter. You must not, "therefore, expect us to adhere to our old de- "clarations. Only wait with patience, till the "time shall come—if it shall ever come—when "we may serve you without prejudice to other "objects: and, meanwhile, comfort yourselves "with the reflection, that your cause cannot

" but be benefited by the accession of your " friends to Government, though that Govern- " ment *is bound by the strongest obligations of* " *duty, to do absolutely nothing to forward it.*"

Such, in plain English, is the consolation *openly* offered to the Roman Catholics by those who were lately pledged to identify their cause with their own acceptance of office: and your language is to the same effect. In consequence merely of your being chief minister, " *without* " *your official interference, indeed with your per-* " *fect inaction, the question cannot fail to acquire* " *strength, and to make a moral approach to its* " *consummation.*"

That the persons, whom these assurances are designed to satisfy, may really be contented with them, must be the hearty wish of us all. I will not attempt to disturb the harmony between them and you, by giving utterance to any ill-omened apprehensions on this subject. I will only express my hearty satisfaction, that you, Sir, thus recognize for yourself, not only *the duty of abstaining from all official interference* in their favour, but also of observing *the most perfect inaction* on the occasion. In truth, to suppose the contrary,—to suppose that you will employ the power of the Crown, its influence and its patronage, in furtherance of a cause to

which the conscience of your Royal Master is directly and unalterably opposed,—would be to ascribe a degree of treachery and baseness to you, which I should be ashamed to charge, without proof, on the most unprincipled minister that ever betrayed the trust confided to him.

True it is, that some rather awkward indications of a different expectation have been exhibited by at least one of the principal supporters of your new ministry. An honourable baronet, long known and respected for the uncompromising sincerity of his nature, has spoken of "*a departure from the present course of policy* "*in respect to Ireland*, as the sine quâ non "of his support;" and though on entering into an explanation of that rather formidable phrase, he disclaimed all "reference to any "*present* vote on the subject of the Roman "Catholic claims," he yet expressly stated, that "it had been a sine quâ non with him—as "he believed it was with others—in any new "arrangement of Government, that such a "course should be taken as would be likely to "*afford hope and restore tranquillity to Ireland*!" Now, when we recollect that the same honourable baronet has repeatedly said, that nothing short of the full concession to the Roman Catholics is the adequate object of their hope, or

can give the smallest prospect of their future contentment, it is, I apprehend, quite plain, that he considers himself to have received assurances from the new Government,—in return for the promise of his support,—that some more effectual and decisive course will be pursued than is indicated by your suggestion of the great moral efficacy which the bare name of a "*Coming Administration*," "without any official "interference," I repeat, nay, "with the most "perfect inaction," must have in tranquillizing the Roman Catholics on the one hand, and subduing the prejudices of the Protestants on the other.

True it also is, that certain negociations are known to have been carrying on with the leader of the Irish Roman Catholics, which do not seem quite in accordance with the undeniable claims which your promise has given us on you and your friends, both new and old. It has been stated on very high authority, that "all "is *settled* with the Irish," a most pregnant intimation;—And within these two days, it has been avowed by a Whig nobleman, of great consideration with his party, and very highly connected both in England and in Ireland,—(if the fact be denied, I shall not be backward in mentioning his name, and the place, and the

time, at which he made the avowal,)—that " he had been in correspondence with Mr. " O'Connell, on the subject of the postpone- " ment of the (Roman) Catholic question, and " that Mr. O'Connell was perfectly satisfied " with the explanation his Lordship had given " him, and with the reasons for postponing that " question to another session."

What those reasons were, I am not so presumptuous as to guess. But we are not left wholly to conjecture. The open-hearted and plain-speaking orators of Ireland have supplied what was deficient in the information afforded by the noble Lord. Even while I am writing, intelligence has arrived, that at an aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholics in Dublin, called by *special requisition*, on Tuesday last,—the same memorable day which gave to the House of Commons your solemn pledge " not " to violate the conscience of the King,—*to* " *reverence it as you reverenced the conscience of* " *his Father*,"—on that very day, Mr. Hugh O'Conor said, that " he felt it his duty to offer " a few observations to the meeting, composed " as it was of Roman Catholics from various " quarters. They had met at an important " crisis, and under circumstances which gave " them a hope and a *promise*, that the amelio-

"ration of Ireland was at hand; and, conse-
"quently, that the interests of the Roman
"Catholics would be attended to." And Mr. Shiel, in more open and explicit terms, declared—"MR. CANNING AND HIS FRIENDS WILL "NOT RELINQUISH THE DETERMINATION, THE "MOMENT THEY HAVE ACQUIRED THE POWER, TO "DO US JUSTICE. *I have not distrust in them;* "and with respect to the measure which we "ought to adopt, I will say but one word, "namely, that *we ought not to press our petition,* "but act in such a way, as *not* to harass and "*embarrass the men who are still surrounded* "*with difficulties, and who must be allowed time* "*to mature their good intentions towards our* "*cause.*"

There is a marvellous coincidence in all this with the sine quâ non of the Honourable Baronet—and altogether, it is quite clear, either that there has been a most important and most widely extended misapprehension on this main subject of discussion between yourself and the great party which has recently joined you,—or that there has been a most unexampled degree of duplicity and perfidy in some quarter or another. Considering the high endowments of yourself, and of all who were engaged in the treaty with you, the former part of this alterna-

tive is hardly credible: but, on the other hand, considering the high honour, and scrupulous good faith, which must actuate such men on such an occasion, the latter supposition is absolutely incredible. Still, people will talk, and will have their suspicions: and though it cannot be doubted, that the first opportunity will be taken to disclaim the inferences, which the language of the Irish orators, coupled with other matters, seem to force upon us,—yet, in the meantime, questions will be put; and, according to the different notions of individuals, will be answered.

Already it is asked, how many, and who, are the dupes of so foul a fraud?—How many, and who, are the destined victims of this unholy alliance?—Is it Mr. Canning, or the Whigs?—His former colleagues, or his present?—The Roman Catholics of Ireland, or the Protestants of England?—The People, or THE KING?

That all these questions, and all others connected with that great and fundamental principle of our national policy, as well as that best security of our Christian hope,—the maintenance of the Church of England,—may receive such answers, as shall be satisfactory to the

true friends both of Church and State,—is the hearty wish of him who has had the honour of bringing these considerations before your mind.

I am, Sir, with all the respect,
which is due to your station, to your talents,
and to your public character,
your most humble Servant,

HENRY PHILLPOTTS.

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